

The Political Influence on Ibsen's Reception in Georgia

Mariam Nodia



Mphil Thesis in Ibsen Studies
Centre for Ibsen Studies, Faculty of Humanities

UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

Spring 2013

The Political Influence on Ibsen's Reception in Georgia

Mariam Nodia

Mphil Thesis in Ibsen Studies
Centre for Ibsen Studies, Faculty of Humanities

UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

Spring 2013

© Mariam Nodia

2013

The Political Influence on Ibsen's Reception in Georgia

<http://www.duo.uio.no/>

Trykk: Reprosentralen, Universitetet i Oslo

Abstract

The topic of my thesis is the political influence on Ibsen's reception in Georgia. The political phases that Georgia has undergone since the 1890s, when the first paper on Ibsen was published, are dramatically different from each other. In my thesis I have presented three periods of Ibsen's reception in Georgia: 1. when the country was a part of the Russian Empire. 2. when the country became a part of the USSR and 3. in the Democratic Republic of Georgia, since 1991. Obviously, the prevailing political winds were different within Tsarist Russia, the Soviet Union and in the Democratic Republic of Georgia. Therefore, in my thesis I have not only given a chronological history of Ibsen's reception in Georgia but, while focusing on different fields within different historical phases, such as the printing press, translations and theatre performances, I have examined how the evaluation of Ibsen's plays altered alongside the ideological changes taking place in the country and how they acquired different significance during the various political eras.

In order to research how and to what extent Ibsen's reception in Georgia was influenced by the political regimes, I have analysed 1) the reviews of the texts / translations of Ibsen's plays and 2) performances together with their reviews. The theoretical framework that I have applied to my thesis is a reception theory. My research led me to the conclusion that ruling regimes and ideologies have had an obvious influence on Ibsen's reception in my country and, moreover, Ibsen's works were often used as a weapon for fighting against political injustice.

Dedication

Dedicated to the loving memory of Herjolf Skogland and Lili Nodia

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I offer my sincerest gratitude to Jon Nygaard, my supervisor, who has supported me throughout my work on this thesis and whose expertise, understanding, and patience, added considerably to my graduate experience.

A very special thanks to Astrid Sæther, Erika Fischer-Lichte, Jullie Holledge, Frode Helland, Kamaluddin Nilu, and Claudia Horntvedt for their engaging and productive lectures. I am indebted to Randi Meyer, the librarian at the Centre of Ibsen Studies, who was always ready to assist me and give me valuable advice.

I cannot find words to express my gratitude to Lydia West for reviewing/proofreading my thesis and for her valuable comments and suggestions. I would also like to thank Vano Khutsishvili, a theatre director at the Liberty Theatre; Maia Odisharia, the PR manager at Tumanishvili Theatre; Employees of the Georgian State Museum of Theatre, Cinema, Music and Choreography; of the library of Shota Rustaveli Theatre and Film Georgian State University, of the Archive Department of the Ministry of the Interior of Georgia, and of The National Parliamentary Library of Georgi, for their support.

I owe my deepest gratitude to Frode Hermundsgård and Kakhaber Loria who taught me Norwegian and made me interested in Norwegian literature. I am profoundly thankful Darejan Chikviladze, who, besides being my first English teacher, is a role-model and a dear friend. My professors Elguja Khintibidze, Inness Merabishvili, Ekaterine Navrozashvili, Rusudan Chanturishvili, Tinatin Margalitadze, Tamar Injia, and many others from Ivane Javakhishvili State University deserve my sincere gratitude for their academic guidance.

At a more personal level, I would like to offer heartfelt thanks to my beloved husband Arni, for his love and encouragement; to my son Daniel who totally changed my life since he came into this world; to my parents and parents-in-law, to my siblings Tamuna and Giorgi for their priceless support and inspiration, and to my dear friends who were always optimistic and had faith in my work. Without these people, this thesis could not have been written.

*Mariam Nodia
Oslo, 2013*

Table of Contents

Abstract	V
<i>Dedication</i>	VII
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	IX
1 Introduction and Historical Background	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.1.1 Topic.....	1
1.1.2 Research Question and Design.....	2
1.1.3 Significance and Previous Research	3
1.1.4 Theory	4
1.1.5 Data and Methods.....	6
1.2 Historical Background.....	8
1.2.1 Georgia under the Russian Empire.....	8
1.2.2 Georgia under the Soviet Union.....	12
1.2.3 The independent Republic of Georgia	15
2 Ibsen's Reception in Georgia under the Russian Empire.....	17
2.1 Ibsen in the periodicals of Georgia under the Russian Empire	17
2.2 Translations of Ibsen's works in Georgia under the Russian Empire	29
2.3 Ibsen on the Georgian Stage under the Russian Empire	41
3 Ibsen's Reception in the Soviet Republic of Georgia	54
3.1 Ibsen in the Soviet Republic of Georgia's Periodicals	54
3.2 Ibsen translations in the Soviet Republic of Georgia	66
3.3 Ibsen on the Stage of the Soviet Republic of Georgia.....	71
4 Ibsen's Reception in the Democratic Republic of Georgia.....	89
4.1 Ibsen and Literary Criticism in the Democratic Republic of Georgia.....	89
4.2 Ibsen Translations in the Democratic Republic of Georgia	93
4.3 Ibsen on the Stage of the Democratic Republic of Georgia	95
Appendix	116
Photos And Illustrations	121
Works Cited.....	123

1 Introduction and Historical Background

1.1 Introduction

1.1.1 Topic

Georgia is my home country, therefore, as soon as I became involved in Ibsen studies, I decided to discover when and how Ibsen's plays were translated, evaluated and performed in Georgia. For this purpose I studied the database on the subject of the National Public Library of Georgia. The result of my preliminary research turned out to be interesting: Ibsen's reception in Georgia dates back at least a hundred and twenty years. Ibsen's works have been reviewed, staged and published in Georgia since the end of the nineteenth century. *Little Eyolf* was the first work by Ibsen that was translated into Georgian and published in the newspaper *Moambe (Herald)* in 1901. In the first decade of the twentieth century, two more Georgian versions of Ibsen's plays were introduced to Georgian readers: *An Enemy of the People* i.e. *Doctor Stokmann*, as it was named in 1903, and *Ghosts* in 1904. The earliest article I found where the works of the Norwegian playwright are mentioned and discussed was published in *Iveria* in 1895. Since then, hundreds of reviews of Ibsen's works, performances of his plays etc. were published in Georgian newspapers and journals. The largest amount of data on Ibsen was issued in 1956 in Georgia, fifty years after the death of the author.

Georgia underwent radical political changes in the last century. When the first biography of Ibsen and the first Georgian translations of his works were published in Georgia, the country was under the rule of the Russian empire. In 1956, when almost all periodicals of Georgia published at least one article on Ibsen and his works, the country was a part of the Soviet Union. And in the late 1990s, when two volumes of the translations of Ibsen's works were published, Georgia had already become independent. It is clear that the prevailing political winds were different within Tsarist Russia, the Soviet Union and since 1991 the Democratic Republic of Georgia. Therefore the evaluation of Ibsen's plays could have altered alongside the ideological changes taking place in the country and they could have acquired different significance during the various political eras. In order to find out how it was, I have chosen the political influence on Ibsen's reception in Georgia as a topic of my thesis.

1.1.2 Research Question and Design

In this thesis I do not only examine how Ibsen's plays were evaluated, translated or performed in Georgia, but also try to find out how the approach towards them shifted during the different political and ideological phases. The political phases that Georgia underwent since the 1890s, when the first paper on Ibsen was published, are dramatically different from each other. Because of the severe censorship existing during the rule of Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union, I assume that Ibsen's reception in Georgia must have been influenced by the existing political regimes. On the other hand, the fact that the reviews of Ibsen's works, productions etc. were written by those authors who were considered to be enemies of the existing governments, in newspapers that were known for their radical political views, made me think that Ibsen's works could have been at the same time used as instruments for fighting against the existing political regimes during certain historical phases of the country. Therefore, the question that I attempt to address in my paper is how the approach towards the Norwegian playwright and his works has shifted during the different political and ideological phases in Georgia since the 1890s. When discussing the influence of political ideology on Ibsen's reception, I will consider, on the one hand, how the existing political regimes influenced Ibsen's reception in my country and on the other hand, how the translations, performances, critical reviews etc. of Ibsen's plays served the purpose of fighting against political injustice. The study of the database of the National Library of Georgia and the archives of the Georgian theatres lead me to the conclusion that *An Enemy of the People* and *Ghosts* were the most translated, staged and reviewed plays by Ibsen in my country. However, I will not confine my research to studying the reception of only those two plays by Ibsen. On the contrary, I will concentrate not only on the works that gained particular popularity in given historical phases, but also on the plays that were not translated, staged and discussed for some reason.

In order to research whether Ibsen's reception in Georgia was influenced by existing political regimes and, if so, to what extent, I will analyse 1) the reviews of the texts / translations and 2) performances (together with the reviews) of the Ibsen's plays. Before starting working on the actual research, I created two full catalogues: the first of the Georgian translations and the second one of the productions of Ibsen's works. After having done so, I obtained a clearer picture of Ibsen's reception in my country. When researching the materials, I mainly concentrated on larger articles. I also checked the archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia, i.e. the former KGB archives and those of the Communist Party in Tbilisi, in

order to find censorship files on Ibsen plays, performances, etc. Besides, I interviewed some translators of Ibsen's works and theatre directors who staged plays by the Norwegian playwright.

1.1.3 Significance and Previous Research

The reason why I chose to address the mentioned question in my essay is that Ibsen's reception in Georgia has not been researched thoroughly as yet and, consequently, not so much is published on this topic. For this reason, I hope that my research will be significant for the Ibsen scholarly milieu. By examining Ibsen's reception in a geographic area that has been out of focus of Ibsen scholars, I hope to make a contribution to the development of the field. However, since I decided to research a topic that has not been examined before, I had to start from scratch. While I did not have the possibility to use the rich taxonomy of important work made by others in the field, I needed to find most, if not all, of my empirical data on my own. This required significant and time-consuming fieldwork.

Georgia has never been in the focus of the Ibsen scholarly milieu, probably due to the fact that there are no Ibsen scholars in my country. Nevertheless, prominent Ibsen researchers have for decades studied Ibsen's reception in different countries and geographic areas. The Centre for Ibsen Studies has published some works on this topic, e.g. *Ibsen's Reception in Poland and the Baltic Nations* (Brynhildsvoll, Kalnačs et al. 2006). Conferences have been held on Ibsen's reception in different parts of the world, among them the conference *Ibsen and Russian Culture* (Brynhildsvoll, San'ko et al. 2005) that was held in St Petersburg in 2003 and the third international Ibsen conference in China, *Construction of Freedom in Ibsen's dramas* (Nie, Chen et al. 2006). MPhil students at the Centre for Ibsen studies have written their works on Ibsen's reception in Bangladesh and China, focusing on different aspects, such as Ibsen and gender, Ibsen and religion, relevance of Ibsen to contemporary societies, Intercultural Ibsen, etc.

Similarly, the political influence on Ibsen's reception is not a new topic. Prominent Ibsen scholars have focused on this question in their works. Two of the works that I find extremely interesting for methodological purposes and to which my project will be related, are Kwok-Kan Tam's *Ibsen in China: Reception and Influence* and Chengzhou He's *Henrik Ibsen and Modern Chinese Drama*. In his 1984 dissertation, Tam studies the reception and influence of Henrik Ibsen in twentieth-century China. The part devoted to Ibsen's reception mainly deals

with the changing Chinese attitudes toward Ibsen and his works in the different phases of modern Chinese history (Tam 1985). Similarly, Chengzhou He, in his 2004 monography, gives a century review of Chinese reception of Ibsen from historical, cultural and literary perspectives. Furthermore, when analyzing the Chinese translations and performances of Ibsen, He acknowledges Thompkins “In the reader-response criticism, literary meaning is not the result of a reader responding to an author’s cues, but is an institutional matter, a function of conventions that are publicly agreed upon” (Tompkins 1988:xviii). Therefore, He concludes that the challenge of socialism and Marxism, that China has met since the 1930s and “the Second Westernization”, since the end of the 1970s, had an unavoidable influence on Ibsen’s reception in China (He 2004).

The dissertation of Farindokht Zahedi, *Henrik Ibsen and Iranian Modern Drama*, deals with Ibsen’s reception and influence in Iran. The monography relates to my project in the sense that it refers to the political influence on Ibsen’s reception. The author tries to show how social factors and ideological thoughts affected the perception of Henrik Ibsen’s works in Iran. According to Zahedi, Ibsen’s plays acquired different meanings in different historical periods in regards to both the reception and response to his art (Zahedi 2006). Due to the fact that my thesis will largely refer to the politics pursued by the USSR, the proceedings of two conferences published in the third and the fourth volumes of the series *Acta Ibseniana: Ibsen’s Reception in Poland and the Baltic Nations* and *Ibsen and Russian Culture* are of prime importance for my research. Russia and the Baltic countries shared a similar political ideology as Georgia which was for decades within the Soviet Union. Therefore, the political influence on Ibsen’s reception in the mentioned countries and Georgia are similar to some extent.

1.1.4 Theory

The theoretical framework that I apply to my research project is a reception theory. I consider this theory to be suitable for investigating the question I have posed, due to the fact that it mainly focuses on the ways in which literary works are received by readers and examines how historical changes affect the reading public. Within the reception theory I mainly focus on the works of Hans Robert Jauss, the German historian and one of the main proponents of the theory (Baldick 2008). Jauss’ interest in reception originates in his concern with the

relationship between literature and history (Holub 1984); therefore, his works are of prime importance for my research.

I base my project mostly on Jauss' a theoretical work *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception* published in 1960s. In this monography the author claims that one cannot clarify the historical essence of an artwork by simply describing it or examining its production. On the contrary, according to him, literature should be treated as a dialectical process of production and reception. Furthermore, Jauss in his reception theory argues that the readers and/or the viewers interpret the meanings of text, performance etc. based on their life experience, cultural backgrounds and the historical phases they live through. Due to the fact that the readers have different backgrounds, they interpret the texts differently, that can significantly vary from the author's original intention (Jauss and De Man 1982).

'The Horizon of Expectations' is the term used by Jauss in his reception theory. According to Jauss, literary works are received against an existing horizon of expectations that consists of the reader's knowledge and presuppositions about literature. Moreover, the meanings of works change as the mentioned horizons shift. In addition, in *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, Jauss examines how the shift of political regimes and prevailing ideologies influences the process and consequences of reception (Jauss and De Man 1982). Due to the fact that the topic of my research paper is the political influence on Ibsen's reception in Georgia, I will largely refer to the historical changes affecting the reading public and/or audience, among them the literary critics, translators, etc. Since Jauss in his works deals with similar questions as I pose, it will be useful for me in my research to apply to his reception theory in this inquiry.

Furthermore, when discussing Ibsen on the Georgian stage, I mainly refer to the works of Erika Fischer-Lichte, namely the article "Interweaving Theatre Cultures in Ibsen Productions", her book *The Transformative Power of Performance : A New Aesthetics* and the anthology *Global Ibsen: Performing Multiple Modernities*. Moreover, three articles by J. Nygaard, namely "...i en uendelig myk trengsel", "VENNSKAP MELLOM NASJONENE" De beste forestillinger i Sovjetunionen 1986/1987 ved teatrene i Moskva", and "Narod Sobie - Theatre as the Nation in Itself. Three Case Studies of Theatre and National Emotions" (Nygaard and Andersen), dealing with the role of theatre in periods of transition, focus on the examples of Norway, Lithuania, Poland, and Georgia. For this reason, they are important for my research.

1.1.5 Data and Methods

The data that I collected and analysed are the translations of Ibsen's works into Georgian; records of the performances of his plays that were staged on Georgian stages and the critical reviews of his plays, translations or productions, that have been published in the Georgian printing press since 1890s. For this reason, I conducted fieldwork in Georgia. First of all I checked the databases of Georgian libraries and theatre archives in order to create catalogues of Georgian translations of Ibsen's works and to collect critical reviews of the translations and performances of Ibsen's plays. Furthermore, I checked the archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia, consisting of two types: security archives (former KGB archives) and party archives (former archives of the Communist Party of Georgia) in order to find any relevant documents.

After I collected the necessary data, I tried to handle it appropriately, depending on its format. Due to the fact that Ibsen's plays were translated into Georgian indirectly, it has not been my intention to give a close textual analysis of them or to compare them to the originals. On the contrary, in the thesis I provide a general overview of the oeuvre of his translations, e.g. examine which plays by Ibsen were or were not translated during a certain historical phase and for what reason. Moreover, I examined whether there is any obvious political influence on the translations of Ibsen's plays. For this purpose, I checked which parts of the original texts were altered or deleted in the translation; whether anything was added or left unchanged, etc. In addition to the translations, I studied articles by Georgian literary critics on Ibsen and his plays published in different historical periods, attempting to find cases of misinterpretation, caused by the existing political and ideological setting.

Even though I did not have a possibility to attend performances of Ibsen's plays staged in Georgia, I collected video and audio records of them. I do realize that in a performance a work of art transforms into an event (Fischer-Lichte and Jain 2008) and therefore a video recording is only a shadow of a performance. For this reason, I would like to make it clear that I do not intend to present a performance analysis in this paper. Since I have not been a part of the performance as a spectator, I worked on the documents of the performances i.e. recordings and photos, rather than on the performances. Consequently, I apply a historiographic approach to the part of my research dealing with Ibsen on the Georgian Stage. However, having listened to and watched the recordings of the performances of *An Enemy of the People* staged at Tumanishvili Theatre, *A Doll's House* staged at the Liberty Theatre, and

The Pretenders staged at the Sukhumi Theatre, I am enabled to see whether or not the performances bore a political context, depicting the flaws of a contemporary political situation in Georgia, etc. As for the response of the audience, of course, a recording can tell nothing of this. Nevertheless, I have checked internet blogs of Georgian theatre goers who attended the play and shared their impressions through internet. Besides, I read reviews of the performances in Georgian periodicals. As a result, I received a general impression on how given performances were accepted by its Georgian audience.

When it comes to gathering empirical data, I used primarily two approaches. Firstly, I conducted historical research, and secondly, I conducted qualitative in-depth interviews relevant to my inquiry with individuals. In my view, it is very important to interview some of the translators of Ibsen's plays and the theatre directors who staged the works of the Norwegian playwright during different historical periods. Interviewing the translators who published their translations before and after the collapse of the Soviet Union, such as Bachana Bregvadze, was of prime importance for my research, as it enabled me to find out whether their translations were influenced by censorship, the prevailing ideology, etc., and whether or not they changed anything in their translations after the shift in political thinking. i.e. the collapse of the Soviet Union. Similarly, interviewing theatre directors or checking interviews with them published in Georgian printing press, helped me find out why they chose to stage Ibsen's plays; whether or not the censors oppressed them; if they served any political aim when introducing the works of Ibsen to the Georgian public. Undoubtedly, studying the political influence on Ibsen's reception in Georgia would be impossible without using a historical approach. For this reason, I studied the ideologies that prevailed in my country during the different historical phases that I have mentioned, in order to examine how they were reflected in the translations, literary reviews or performances of Ibsen's works.

1.2 Historical Background

In order to clarify what I mean when I discuss the political regimes and ideologies existing in Georgia since 1897 that influenced Ibsen's reception in Georgia, in this part of the thesis I will give a short description of the three main phases in the history of my country.

1.2.1 Georgia under the Russian Empire

In 1801 Russia annexed almost the whole territory of Georgia, which became part of the Russian Empire. At the end of the nineteenth century when the first translations and reviews of Ibsen's plays appeared in the Georgian printing press, the country was still under the rule of Tsarist Russia. The Russian Empire pursued the so-called politics of 'Russification', meaning that the aim of the Russian authorities was the full integration of Georgia into the rest of the empire and the annulment of the Georgian statehood.

The annexation of Georgia by the Russian Empire was followed by a set of radical changes. New forms of governance, of the educational system, etc., were imposed on Georgia. The changes required by these reforms were quite foreign to the Georgian population. For this reason, they were not met with popular support. All social and economic classes felt the impact of the Russian colonization politics. Before the annexation, almost five percent of the population of Georgia belonged to the noble class. The society was hierarchical. At the top of the hierarchy stood the descendants of the royal family, followed by influential and rich noblemen 'tavadis', who, on the other hand, were superior to the less influential noble gentry called the 'mouravis'. The Georgian noblemen owned vast estates, a serf peasantry and had almost unlimited power (Suny 2005). After the annexation, the powers and privileges of Georgian noblemen were significantly reduced. They gradually lost not only their political ground, but also their vassals and prosperity.

In the 1860-1870s, the serfs of different regions of Georgia were emancipated. The peasants, who had been enslaved for years, hoped that their lives would greatly improve after they were granted freedom. However, hardships were still ahead. According to Suny, "the final form of the peasant reform was an economic and social disaster, the full consequences of which took nearly forty years to be realized" (Suny 2005:111). Although the peasants obtained formal independence from their former owners, their living conditions did not improve. The peasants were given freedom, though no material property. Therefore, they were obliged to pay debts

to their former owners, in addition to the high taxes that they were charged by the authorities. For this reason, the former serfs remained economically dependent on the nobility and found it even more difficult to survive than before (Suny 2005).

The Georgian educational system was replaced by a Russian system after the country became part of the Russian Empire. Moreover, the Russian language became the only language allowed to be used in schools and gymnasiums. A prominent Georgian writer, Akaki Tsereteli (1840-1915), described the Georgian education system under the rule of the Russian empire in his autobiography *My Adventure*. According to the writer, speaking Georgian was forbidden in Kutaisi Gymnasium, where he studied in his childhood. Most of the children did not understand a word in Russian. However, those who dared to speak their native language were punished. There were different brutal methods of punishment. The teacher would hit those who spoke Georgian with a ruler on their palms, insult them in front of other children, etc. For this reason, seven and eight year old children were forced to sit in class, deprived of the right to speak their own language and unable to understand what was taught or explained in the lesson (წერეთელი 1990).

Anything that referred to Georgian nationhood did not fit Russian colonial politics. Therefore, suppressing the Georgian language was not the only measure that the Russian authorities took. The word ‘Georgia’ was avoided and was replaced by ‘Tbilisi Province’, ‘Kutaisi Province’, etc. in official documents (Anchabadze 2005). Moreover, publication of Georgian books, magazines and newspapers was limited under the Tsarist regime. Since the Georgian church consistently aimed to strengthen Georgian statehood, the Russian Empire abolished its autocephaly and transferred it into a part of the synod of the Russian Exarchy. The Georgian church not only lost its independence, but also centuries old valuable icons, archives, etc.

As a result of this persecution, rebellions against the Tsarist rule became frequent in Georgia (Anchabadze 2005). Uprisings in Georgia were the result of discontent at both national and social level. At the end of the nineteenth century, when Marxist propaganda was spread throughout the Russian Empire, including the territory of Georgia, many Georgian workers and peasants supported the Russian revolution and held barricades. Interestingly, while the rebels in the rest of the Empire were protesting against social oppression, Georgian rebels were in addition demanding autonomy or full separation from the Russian Empire (Anchabadze 2005).

There is a strong indication of a generational divide among the Georgian intelligentsia during this period. Most of the Georgian writers, poets etc. were divided into two camps, into ‘fathers’ and ‘sons’. The older generation, the so-called ‘fathers’ believed that it was possible to preserve the national character of Georgia within the Russian Empire. The younger progressive generation, ‘the sons’ who had received education at Russian universities and returned to their home country armed with progressive ideas, were critical towards the Russian rule and applied literature and drama as means of bringing about political change (Rayfield 2000:159). The leading figure of the new generation was Ilia Chavchavadze (1837-1907), a prominent writer and civic leader of the country. Moreover, he was editor of the newspaper *Iveria* that was a periodical known for its critical attitude towards not only the Russian regime, but also to the generation of Georgians who had integrated with Russian society (Rayfield 2000). I find it very interesting that in *Iveria* an article was published on Ibsen in 1906. The author of the article was a well-known Georgian writer, Mikheil Javakhishvili, who was known for his radical political views. Javakhishvili was exiled from Georgia several times. On the order of the Soviet authorities he was accused of being “an enemy of the people” and was shot in 1937. Ilia Chavchavadze, editor of *Iveria*, was also murdered in 1907, possibly for his radical views. In my view, the fact that an article on Ibsen was published by an author who was fighting against Russian rule in a newspaper, known for its revolutionary views is an indication that Ibsen’s reception in Georgia was not only influenced by the existing regime, but also was fighting against it.

In the 1860s, there was a dramatic rise of Georgian national self-consciousness. More and more scholars were interested in Georgian history and language. The leading motif of Georgian literature of this period was patriotism. To serve one’s nation was considered to be the main duty of the poets/writers (Urusaze 1958). In their works, contemporary authors criticized the existing political setting. They depicted how the Russian Empire oppressed not only different social layers of the population, but also the whole nation. However, since censorship was extremely strict, most patriotic writers applied to symbolism in order to be able to express their opinions and still get their works published. An excellent example of this is a poem “Spring” by Akaki Tsereteli. In this poem the author describes the spring and the joys it brings to people:

The swallow twittered, shrill and gay,
Arriving from across the main,
‘Tis spring! ‘Tis spring!’ it called to me;

My heart with hope was filled again (Urusaze 1958:76).

The poem was written and published in 1881, the year when Alexander the second of Russia was assassinated. The news of the death of the Emperor is in the poem symbolized by spring that fills the hearts of the oppressed people with hope. The Tsarist censorship did not read between the lines, and therefore the poem was published. It became extremely popular in Georgia. Many Georgians recited the poem by heart and hoped that the assassination of the Russian Emperor would bring independence to their nation

Many of the representatives of the generation of ‘the sons’ became the leading figures of the independence movement in Georgia. They tried to evoke patriotism in their fellow-citizens and encourage them to fight against the political and social injustice reigning in the Russian Empire. Since the leaders of the national movement understood that only educated people could have enough strength and ability to fight against the oppressors, they founded in 1879 The Society for the Propagation of Literacy among Georgians. The Society aimed to create more schools and libraries; train teachers; support the Georgian printing press, and as a result of all this, illuminate Georgian society. One of the most active members of the society was Iakob Gogebashvili. He was the author of *Mother Tongue*, a textbook for teaching Georgian to small children. Gogebashvili’s textbooks and children’s stories revived national consciousness among Georgians and provided a sharp contrast to the prevailing political ideology (Rayfield 2000).

In 1879 Ilia Chavchavadze and his adherents revived the Georgian Theatre in Tbilisi, founded a Drama Society and created a permanent theatre company. Only one year later, a new theatre was opened in Kutaisi. Many talented theatre directors, actors and actresses were involved in the work of the Drama Society, among them Vaso Abashidze (1854-1926), Lado Meskhishvili (1857-1930), Nato Gabunia (1859-1910), Mako Saparova-Abashidze (1860-1940), Kote Khipiani (1849-1921), Kote Mekshi (1859-1914), Valerian Gunia (1862-1938), etc. The Georgian theatre played a pivotal role in the development of Georgian culture and society in this period, but also in preserving the Georgian language. All the performances in the Georgian theatre were held in Georgian. The repertoire of the theatre included the plays of both Georgian and foreign playwrights and was carefully chosen. The aim of staging performances was not just entertaining the audience, but developing them intellectually. Ibsen’s plays appeared in the repertoire of the Georgian theatre from the late 1890s.

1.2.2 Georgia under the Soviet Union

As a result of the 1917 October revolution, the Bolsheviks came to power in Russia. The political parties in Transcaucasia took advantage of the sudden changes and formed the local government, the Transcaucasian Commisariat. In 1918 the independence of the Transcaucasian federation was declared. However, in May of the same year, the Federation was abolished and the same day Georgia was declared a Sovereign-democratic republic. The Social-democratic party represented the majority of the coalitional government of Georgia with Noe Zhordania, the leader of the party, as the chairman of the government (Anchabadze 2005).

The independent republic of Georgia existed only for three years. During this brief period of independence, there were important changes in the educational system of Georgia that had a significant influence on the development of the country in the following years: the language of instruction in schools became Georgian instead of Russian and Georgian textbooks were created for the pupils. Furthermore, on the 16th of January 1918, the first Georgian University was founded in Tbilisi. The initiator of this important venture was the outstanding Georgian scholar Ivane Javakhishvili. Since the public sphere was dominated by discourse on politics rather than on culture, there was not a single paper published on Ibsen or his works from 1918 to 1921. For this reason, I will not consider this phase of Georgian history in my paper.

On February 25, 1921 the Soviet army invaded and occupied Georgia. The country eventually became a Soviet Socialist Republic within the Soviet Union. The Marxism-Leninism ideology became the foundation of the Soviet Republic of Georgia, as of all the member republics of the USSR. According to Ilia Chavchavadze “language, homeland and religion” have always been the main values for Georgians. During the Soviet era Georgians had access to none of those: the language and religion were suppressed and any expression of national identity was denounced. Christianity had been preached on the territory of Georgia from the first century A.D. and was declared to be the state religion in the third century. Since then, religion has been one of the main components of the Georgian national self-consciousness. Foreign invaders, who occupied and devastated the country for hundreds of years, were not capable of forcing Georgians to abandon their faith. However, the Soviet authorities managed to do what the Mongols, Turks and Persians had failed to accomplish: they deprived the country of its centuries old religion. In the USSR, where Atheism was preached, in order to make people forget about their religious belief, churches were closed and the clergy and believers were

arrested. In 1922-1923 about one thousand five hundred churches were destroyed in Georgia (სურგულაძე 1991).

Education was considered to be the priority of the USSR. The curricula of the schools and universities in the Soviet Union served the aim of spreading Soviet ideology among the younger generation. The printing press and literature of this period had the same objective. However, the open-minded and progressive part of the society – mostly the former nobility and intelligentsia who witnessed how the nationhood of Georgia was being destroyed, fought against this oppression. For this reason, there was a wide range of measures taken against them. Those who dared to disobey the Soviet authorities and to protect their national identities were either shot or exiled from the country. The repressions became massive in the years 1937-1938. At that time hundreds of innocent Georgians were declared to be “enemies of the people” and were killed. Among such people were outstanding representatives of the Georgian intelligentsia, e.g. the writer M. Javakhishvili, poets T. Tabidze and P. Iashvili, theatre director S. Akhmeteli, scholar Gr. Tsereteli, conductor E. Mikeladze (Anchabadze 2005).

Censorship was extremely severe during the Soviet era. Scholars had to quote Marx and Lenin in their works in order to get them published; writers were ordered to write stories and poems where the leaders of the Soviet Union were portrayed as the supreme powers – as deities. It is interesting, that in this period there were manifold articles published on Ibsen and his plays in Georgian journals and newspapers. Simply naming the titles of the periodicals where those articles were published is enough for understanding how their contents could be influenced by the existing ideology. I can give a few examples, “Henrik Ibsen Keeps on Fighting” published in the journal *Soviet Art* (ჯიბორია 1960), “The Prominent Norwegian Playwright” published in the newspaper *Collective work* (ჯორბენაძე 1956), “Henrik Ibsen” published in *The Communist* (განზულოძე 1956).

In 1941 Nazi Germany invaded the territory of the USSR. During the years 1941-1945 approximately seven hundred and fifty thousand Georgian soldiers participated in the Second World War and about seventy thousand died (სურგულაძე 1991). In this period, patriotism was the leading motif of Georgian literature. However, when describing the warriors defending their country, there was no distinction between the Soviet Union and Georgia.

After the end of the war and the death of Stalin, Anti-Stalinist propaganda started in the USSR. Since J. Stalin and the Soviet politician, Lavrentiy Beria, were of Georgian origin, Georgians were blamed for the evil that these two leaders brought to the people. Therefore, in 1956 protests and manifestations were held in Georgia where Georgians protested against the Anti-Stalin propaganda. Part of the young protesters also demanded the independence of the country. The government suppressed the protests and shot at the crowd. About hundred and fifty people were killed and three hundred were wounded (სურგულაძე 1991).

After the suppression of the peaceful protests on the 9th of March, an independence movement emerged in Georgia. The leaders of the youth who were struggling for separation from the Soviet Union were Merab Kostava (1938-1989) and Zviad Gamsakhurdia (1938-1993). They were the initiators of journals such as *Sakartvelos Moambe (Georgian Herald)*, *Sakartvelo (Georgia)*, and *Matiane (Chronicles)*, where the communist ideology was denounced and national self-consciousness was evoked among Georgians. The leaders of the independence movement were protecting not only Georgian identity, but also the Georgian language. According to the constitution, Georgian was the state language in the republic of Georgia. However, at the end of the seventies, the constitution was revised. The Soviet authorities claimed that languages were barriers among the peoples of the Soviet republics. Therefore, they attempted to initiate equal status to Russian and other languages in Georgia. On April 14, 1978, about five thousand people, mostly university students, demonstrated in the streets. As a result, the Georgian language maintained the status of state language (Sunny 2005).

In the 1980s the nationalist consciousness turned into a mass movement in Georgia, when the question of the autonomous republics of Abkhazia and Ossetia became topical. Massive demonstrations started in Tbilisi already in 1988. However, the situation became particularly tense in 1989, when a meeting was held in Abkhazia where the population, encouraged by the Soviet authorities, called for the separation of the Abkhaz autonomous republic from Georgia. As a response to this meeting, thousands of people in Tbilisi gathered in front of the parliament building. The government suppressed the peaceful demonstrations. Armed forces attacked the protesters. About twenty people were killed and hundreds were injured (Sunny 2005).

The role of the Georgian theatre in the struggle for independence was indispensable. In the 1970s and 1980s the Georgian theatre enjoyed what is often described as a third period of flourishing dramatic art. During this time it mostly relied on a foreign repertoire (Rayfield

2000). Theatre directors staged plays that seemed not to be in conflict with Soviet interests, but in fact they served the purpose of fighting against the ruling regime. Ibsen was probably one of the most beloved playwrights on the Georgian stage during the Soviet era. A prominent Georgian theatre director of this period, Kote Marjanishvili (also known by the Russified surname Mardzhanov), who was regarded as one of Stanislavskij's most talented followers, while working in Moscow until the 1930s, included in his repertoire many of Ibsen's plays. Ibsen's works attracted the attention of the most famous Georgian theatre directors, such as Temur Chkeidze, the director of Marjanishvili Theatre; Robert Sturua, the director of Rustaveli Theatre in the 1980s who was known for revealing in his performances political farce, and many others.

1.2.3 The independent Republic of Georgia

At the end of the 1980s, the powers that were struggling for independence in Georgia were divided into two main camps. The political block named Round Table was the most popular at that time. The leader of the Round Table was Zviad Gamsakhurdia. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Georgia regained its independence and Gamsakhurdia was elected president of the country. As a result of gaining independence, patriotism and religion became the main values of society once again.

The first years of independence were extremely hard. The Georgian economy had been completely dependent on and intertwined with that of the Soviet Union. Therefore, after the country gained its independence, the economy collapsed. Innumerable people lost their jobs and, consequently, the capability to support their families. In addition to material hardship, civil conflicts emerged inside the country. In 1991, after an armed conflict, the autonomous republic of South Ossetia was de-facto separated from Georgia. The same year, disagreement in the government turned into civil war. As a result, the president had to flee from Georgia. In 1992 Edvard Shevardnadze, the former minister of foreign affairs of the Soviet Union, became the president of Georgia. The same year an armed conflict started in Abkhazia, as a result of which Georgia lost control of the autonomous republic.

In 2003 a peaceful revolution, called the Rose Revolution, took place in Georgia. Thousands of people tired of Shevardnadze's regime supported the leader of the revolts, a young politician Michael Saakashvili, who the same year was elected president of Georgia and the Nationalist party that he represented became the ruling party of the country. The new

government declared the establishment of full democracy and membership of the EU as their main goals. However, after two terms of presidency, the popularity of Saakashvili and his party among Georgians sharply declined. There had been major protests against the government, accusing the authorities of tyranny and breach of human rights. For example, in 2011, on 26th of May, Independence Day of Georgia, anti-government protests were held in Tbilisi. The protesters demanded the resignation of President Mikhael Saakashvili. According to Human Rights House, the protest rally was violently dispersed. The police beat and detained demonstrators. Furthermore, freedom of speech was hindered, since journalists were not allowed to record the facts of violence against demonstrators (Latatia 2011).

In autumn 2012, a video was released showing prison guards torturing and sexually assaulting inmates. Hundreds of people protested in Tbilisi against prison conditions and the government that allowed such conduct (Elder 2012). As a result, the Georgian leading party was forced to concede defeat in parliamentary elections (Chance, Dougherty et al. 2012). For the first time in its history, Georgia managed to peacefully and democratically transit through elections and to form its first multi-party parliament with a coalition, Georgian Dream, as the parliamentary majority.

Interest towards Henrik Ibsen and his works has not ceased in the independent republic of Georgia. Bachana Bregvadze, a well-known Georgian translator, translated Ibsen's plays from French and Russian (Bregvadze 2012) and the result was published in two volumes in 1994 and 1995. On the one hand, since the 1990s, Ibsen's works have been analysed for their literary values and not for serving any political agenda. On the other hand, some theatre directors have staged Ibsen's plays in order to express their protest towards the existing political regime, e.g. *The Pretenders* and *An Enemy of the People* staged by Gogi Kavtaradze.

2 Ibsen's Reception in Georgia under the Russian Empire

2.1 Ibsen in the periodicals of Georgia under the Russian Empire

In this subchapter I will mainly focus on biographical articles on Ibsen's life and works, published in the Georgian press during the Russian tutelage in Georgia, when the Russian empire was suppressing Georgian language and national consciousness. First of all, I intend to give a more or less complete picture of the first decades of Ibsen's reception in Georgia. Moreover, I will try to discover whether the political situation in the country had any influence on Ibsen's reception and whether Ibsen's works were used as a means of expressing protest against the ruling political ideology.

Very little is written in this field. The only monograph on Ibsen in the Georgian language – *Henrik Ibsen* by Akaki Gelovani was published in 1957. The work consists of 45 pages, presenting a biography of Ibsen and a discussion of some of his major works. Only the last four pages of the monograph are devoted to Ibsen's reception in Georgia. In my opinion, "Ibsen on the Georgian Stage", an article by Tamar Amirejibi published in the journal *Soviet Art* (საბჭოთა ხელოვნება) vol. 4 in 1956, fifty years after the death of the playwright, is the most valuable work in this regard. In her three-page article, Amirejibi, focusing on the most important and interesting theatre reviews and articles on Ibsen's works, presents a brief history of Ibsen in Georgian theatres and describes how the performances were accepted by the audience and theatre critics.

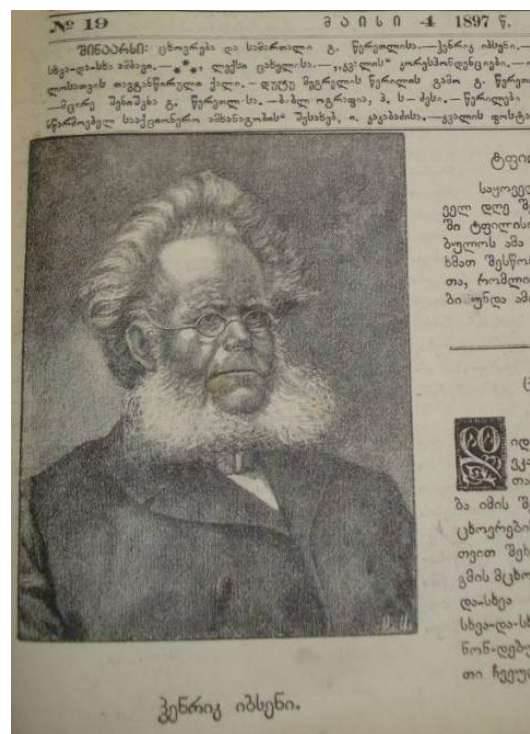


Figure 1. Portrait of Ibsen in Kvali, 1897

Having studied the database of the National library of Georgia led me to the conclusion that articles mentioning Ibsen and his works have been published in the Georgian printing press since 1895. However, many of the earliest articles on Ibsen in the Georgian press are either brief summaries or translations of the works of European critics on the Norwegian playwright. For example, an article named "აზრი რუსულის ლიტერატურის შესახებ ფრანგის

კრიტიკოსისა” (“Opinion of a French critic on Russian literature”) published in *Iveria* in 1895 describes Jules Lemaître’s opinion on the influence of French literature on Russian, British and Northern European writers, among them Ibsen, claiming that problems posed in *A Doll’s House* and *An Enemy of the People* are similar to those underlined in the novels of George Sand and the younger Dumas (unknown 1895). P. Didvadze’s article “Ibsen and Maeterlinck” is based on Cohan’s “Reader of Western European literature”. Kita Abashidze, a Georgian critic who received his education in Paris in his article “Henrik Ibsen” published in the journal *ცნობის ფურცელი* in 1901, presents a summary of Henri Lichtenberger’s “Le Pessimisme d’Ibsen”. However, Abashidze realizes the importance of Ibsen and his plays and in an introduction to the article states that “it is a shame for [the literary criticism of] any country not to have published anything on such a great playwright of the nineteenth century as Henrik Ibsen” (კ.ა. 1901:1). Considering the lack of literature on Ibsen in Georgia, Abashidze finds a temporary solution to the problem in “borrowing from the European critics” (ibid.).

The situation significantly changed after translations of Ibsen’s plays appeared in Georgian periodicals and Ibsen’s plays were staged in Georgian theatres. The first performance was followed by a number of articles on Ibsen and his works, providing Georgian readers with some information about the life and writings of the playwright. Already in 1897, a portrait of Henrik Ibsen was published on the front page of the newspaper *კვალი*. On the 20th of March, 1903 when the world was celebrating the 75th anniversary of Ibsen, the Georgian Drama Society joined the celebrations and presented *Nora (A Doll’s house)* in the Georgian theatre. Before the commencement of the performance, the director Valerian Gunia read the biography of the playwright and talked about some of Ibsen’s works (unknown 1903). That same week, Gunia’s speech was published in the journal *Iveria* and it can therefore be considered as one of the first biographies of Ibsen written by a Georgian author.

Valerian Gunia was an outstanding theater director, translator and critic, publishing theatre reviews under the pseudonym ვალიკო-ია (Valiko-ia). Furthermore, he was a strong opponent of the Tsarist regime in Georgia. It is remarkable that Gunia is also one of the first translators and directors of Ibsen’s plays in Georgia. Such an interest of a Georgian director in the works of the Norwegian playwright cannot be a mere coincidence. According to Gunia, people respect the theatre that depicts their contemporary life (ibid.13). The fact that he

translated and staged Ibsen's works indicates that Gunia considered them to be relevant to addressing the problems that were posed in his contemporary Georgian society.

According to Jauss, the relationship between reader and literature has not only aesthetic, but also historical implications. In every historical period and geographic area, readers of any literary work have certain views and ideology (Jauss 1974) and, consequently, they tend to look for the portrait of their society in the book they are reading (Jauss 1974:16). As for Georgia, the main characteristics of the period, when Ibsen was first introduced there, is reflected in the works of Vaja Pshavela, a famous



Fig. 2. Valerian Gunia, photo by Al.Roinishvili

Georgian poet. In his article “Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism”, the Georgian author claims that every person should be serving his country, should be trying to be of use to his co-patriots and only when he succeeds in this honorable task, will he contribute in the development of humanity (ვაჟა-ფშაველა 1905). Vaja-Pshavela reminds the readers that every genius was born and brought up in his homeland and devoted his works/inventions first of all to his people. However, it does deprive the rest of the world from the right to claim their ownership of those geniuses and their works (ibid.). “Cosmopolitanism should not be understood as neglecting one’s nationality. Each nation is striving for independence, so that it can be its own master, being able to take care of itself and to develop itself. Development of separate nations is a necessary prerequisite for the development of the whole of humanity” (ibid.), claims the Georgian poet and between the lines one can read his demand for the separation of Georgia from the Russian Empire. It should be mentioned that even though most of the Georgian progressive writers and thinkers created patriotic works, they did not praise their homeland and countrymen. A great Georgian poet, writer and civic leader, Ilia Chavachavadze, who was also editor of the journal *Iveria*, starts his story “Is that a Man?”, by a wise saw “blame a

friend to his face, an enemy behind his back”, further stating in the introduction to the story “some show their sympathy by praising what is evil in a friend and some by blaming the evil. Of these two kinds of people the reader will himself perceive which has the greatest and truest sympathy and love?”(Chavchavadze 1987). It seems that many Georgians, especially the officials holding power, preferred those writers who “praise what is evil in a friend” to those brave ones who “blame a friend to his face”. Chavchavadze, an unofficial national leader of Georgia, who set out a program of national revival in some of his works, exposed the leading regime, despite the danger of doing so, and, consequently, he was murdered at Tsitsamuri. More than a century after the assassination, the crime still remains unsolved (Rayfield 2000).

In his article on Ibsen, Gunia focuses on the patriotic motif in Ibsen’s works. He portrays the Norwegian playwright as a patriot who albeit lived away from his country, still stayed devoted to his homeland and reflected the Norwegian reality in his works (ვ.გუნიას 1903). One more biography including more detailed facts on Ibsen’s life was published the same year in the journal *ცნობის ფურცელი*. The author of the article, similarly to Gunia, presents Ibsen as a patriotic writer who even though he loved Norway, sharply criticized it for abandoning Denmark in the Dano-Prussian war (ა-ბე 1903).

Maintaining one’s national identity, national consciousness and fighting for national liberation have been priorities of the Georgian people since the beginning of the 19th century, when the Russian state started absorbing Georgian territories and kingdoms until the 1990s when the country finally regained its independence. Consequently, the social drama of Ibsen, e.g. *A Doll’s House* which gained an extraordinary global success and has been one of the most staged dramas by Ibsen in the world (Hollidge 2008), was not particularly popular in Georgia. However, in the first decades of the twentieth century, when similarly to the rest of Europe, women in Georgia were agitating for access to education, financial independence, Nora became “an icon of women’s emancipation” (ibid.:15). *A Doll’s House* i.e. *Nora* as it was called in Georgian translations, was first staged in Kutaisi Theatre in the last decade of the nineteenth century and a few years later in Tbilisi. Valerian Gunia, one of the first directors who staged *Nora* on the Georgian stage ends his 1903 speech by stating that one of the main qualities of Ibsen is the fact that he is a defender of women and their rights, concluding that for this reason “first and foremost women should respect and praise this genius of the north” (ვ.გუნიას 1903).

In 1900, an article on women's fight for independence was published in three volumes of the journal *კვლეო* (vol.44, 46, 48). An author using the pseudonym 8-n. analyzed plays focusing on women's rights that were or would be staged in Kutaisi theatre in the year 1900. According to 8-n, two plays staged there in October 1900 gained particular success among the local audience, namely *Medea*, translated from Russian and *Les Tenailes* by Paul Hervieu. Both the Colchi princess Medea betrayed by the Argonaut Jason, and Irène Fergan, the main character of *Les Tenailes*, are women with a strong will and principles. *Medea* staged in Kutaisi Theatre differed significantly from the Euripidean tragedy. In this version Jason refuses to marry Medea because of her personality, claiming that "a man should not marry a woman who is capable of assisting him. The moment we, men look to our mates as our equals and friends, peaceful family life disappears for good" (8-n 1900:703).

8-n. discusses two more plays dealing with women's independence and equality to men that Kutaisi Theatre chose for its repertoire in 1900, namely *Magda (Heimat)* by Herman Sudermann and *Nora (A Doll's House)* by Henrik Ibsen. The author of the article gives a short summary of the plays and comments on the main heroines who stand up to men and agitate for their rights in society. Ibsen's works have never been translated directly from Norwegian into Georgian and, unfortunately, most translators do not mention the source of their translations. The translation that 8-n. refers to in his article seems to have been made through a Russian version based on a German translation, since the names of some characters are changed into German ones, e.g. Krogstad is called Günter, etc. It seems that there were many details of the original that were changed in the translation; as an example Nora earns money by translating novels at night. Besides, the translated play discussed in the article seems to be more dramatized than the original: Nora, when threatened by Günter that he will reveal the truth to her husband, and fearing that Helmer will take the blame for the crime she decides to commit suicide and rushes out of the house. However, she is stopped by Helmer who demands from her to let him know whether or not what Günter has written to her is the truth. Nora, admitting the truth, is begging him to "let me go. When I will be gone [from this world], you will be free", although Helmer mocks her bravery, calling her behavior a comedy (8-n 1900:737-738). In his concluding notes, 8-n claims that Sudermannian Magda and Ibsenian Nora changed European reality: by daring to stand up against men and demand equal rights to them, they encouraged many women to fight for the right of education, work, etc. The author of the article appeals to Georgian women to take example from those brave heroines and blaze a trail into light and freedom (8-n 1900:768).

Georgia is a country with a long tradition of gender equality. Tamar of Georgia – a queen regnant who was always addressed not as a queen but as a king as she was able to lead the country better than any contemporary male governor became the sovereign of Georgia in 1184. It is worth mentioning that even though the church had immense power in the Middle Ages, Tamar divorced her husband and soon after she married again. “The lion’s whelps are equal, be they male or female”, states Shota Rustaveli, one of the greatest Georgian poets of all times in his poem “The Knight in the Panther Skin” written in the twelfth century (Rustaveli 1912:8). Jauss claims that a literary work does not appear in an informational vacuum, but on the contrary, it awakens among readers memories and allusions (Jauss 1974:12). Considering both political and literary history of Georgia, *A Doll’s House* did not “articulate an experience for the first time” for Georgian readers, since they had grown up hearing stories about the female monarch who dared to stand up against social norms even in the Middle Ages (Jauss 1974:14). For this reason, Nora’s personality and the fact that she abandoned her family did not shock Georgian readers as much as the rest of the world. Georgian literary critics almost unanimously agreed that Nora made the right decision and had she not abandoned her husband and children, she would have had the fate of Fru Alving who had to put up with a life of falsehood in order not to come into conflict with the moral norms of a hypocritical society (ზანგი 1904).

One of the first Georgian writers who became interested in Henrik Ibsen and his works was Mikheil Javakhishvili (1880-1937), an outstanding novelist of the 20th century. Javakhishvili was a patriot and, consequently, a strong opponent of first the Russian tutelage and later of the Soviet regime in Georgia. He started his career as a political activist and for him literature “was above all a means of political action” (Rayfield 2000:219). Javakhishvili was primarily interested in social and revolutionary issues. Both in his articles and in his literary works he sharply criticized the Russian Empire and the political course that the Tsar pursued. “Russia is galloping after Europe and the bleeding body it is dragging after it on a rope is Georgia’s”, he claimed in his “Arsena Marabdeli” (“Arsena of Marabda”). According to Rayfield (Rayfield 2000:223), after Stalin revalued the role of the Russian empire, utterance of this phrase became lethal for Javakhishvili (ნიკოლეიშვილი 1999). Javakhishvili was a successful journalist. He wrote articles on the importance of the Georgian language, theatre and literature. In 1906 he started publishing the newspaper *გლეხი* (*Pheasant*) in which he agitated for the rights of peasants. The government banned the newspaper because of its anti-

Russian spirit and committed the editor for trial. In late 1906 Javakhishvili fled the country so that he could avoid being arrested. However, he managed to return to Georgia using a forged passport. In 1909 Javakhishvili was arrested and was sentenced to be imprisoned for a year in Metekhi Prison and then exiled to Rostov for five years (გრიგალაშვილი 1997). In May 1906, shortly before fleeing Georgia, Javakhishvili published two articles on Henrik Ibsen. The first one was published ten days after the death of the playwright. In this article Javakhishvili gave a brief biography of the playwright together with a short discussion of his works. Javakhishvili called Ibsen “a revolutionary of literature” (ჯავახიშვილი 2007) who detested modern family, state, social life and “tyranny of the majority disguised as democracy” (ibid. 234). According to Javakhishvili, Ibsen created a new school and enriched world literature with his original dramas. Javakhishvili predicted that humanity would never forget Ibsen as a great writer, philosopher and thinker and that he would be considered to be one of the greatest dramatists of all times, together with Shakespeare, Schiller, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides (ibid.).



Fig.3. Criminal Record of Mikheil Javakhishvili

Another article by Javakhishvili also called “Henrik Ibsen”, was published in *Iveria*, 21st of May, 1906. Javakhishvili, after giving a short introduction on the role of Ibsen and his plays in world literature, focused on the works of Ibsen that were particularly popular in Georgia at the time, namely *Ghosts*, *An Enemy of the People* and *A Doll's House*. As a defender of peasants' rights, Javakhishvili himself often criticized the noblemen and their lifestyles. However, he did not fail to see the flaws of the winners of the drama of modernity either. As an example, in his novel “Jaqu's Disposessed” (ჯაყოს ბიზნესი, 1924), Javakhishvili portrayed Teimuraz Kheivistavi, a former nobleman who lost everything as a result of revolution to the activist Jaqu (Rayfield 2000:220). Jaqu resembles Jacob Engstrand who lacks education and

moral values. However, he succeeds in modern society due to his impudence, deceitfulness and determination. Teimuraz Kheivistavi, on the other hand, is an intellectual who, similarly to Hedda Gabler, lives in the past and fails to keep pace with modern life. For this reason he loses not only his power, property and social status, but also his beloved wife Margo (Rayfield 2000:220).

In his second article on Henrik Ibsen, Javakhishvili states that *Ghosts* is a level-pegging play with *Oedipus King of Thebes*, *Medea*, *Macbeth* and *Hamlet* (ჯავახიშვილი 2007). According to Javakhishvili, unlike Euripidean, Aeschilean and Sophoclean heroes who were victims of fate, and Shakespearean heroes who were defeated in battle as a result of their passions and conscience, Ibsenian characters are brought to destruction by hereditary diseases. However, Javakhishvili realizes that the reason of Oswald's misfortune is not the illness inherited from his father, but his sins. Javakhishvili compares the situation described in *Ghosts* to the Georgian reality and comes to the conclusion that, similarly to Oswald, there are many innocent victims among us who suffer from 'hereditary diseases', or sins, that they have inherited from their ancestors (ჯავახიშვილი 2007). The Georgian novelist believes that fate in Ibsen's dramas is more destructive than in Aeschile's or Shakespeare's dramas, since our ancestors laid its foundation and we are powerless against it.

After *Ghosts* Javakhishvili writes on *An Enemy of the People* that it in a way greatly resembles his own life story. In 1937, a meeting of the presidium of the writers' union of Georgia was held. At this meeting, the case of Mikheil Javakhishvili was discussed. Similarly to Doctor Stockmann, the "defendant" was not allowed to defend himself; he was even prohibited from participating in the meeting. The following statement was made at the end of the meeting: "Mikheil Javakhishvili, as an enemy of the people, a spy and a saboteur should be expelled from the writers' union and should be physically eliminated" (გრიგალაშვილი 1997). In his article Javakhishvili agrees with Ibsen's propositions that "the majority never has right on its side" and that "the strongest man in the world is he who stands most alone" (Ibsen 2010). Similarly to the great Norwegian playwright, the Georgian novelist is against the tyranny of the majority. Like the Ibsenian hero, he refuses to still his voice against injustice. For this reason, Javakhishvili shared the fate of Doctor Stockmann: he became an outcast of society and was called "an enemy of the people". However, the Georgian reality of the 20th century turned out to be crueler than the Norwegian fiction. People in Ibsen's play contented themselves by throwing stones at Doctor Stockman's house, while Javakhishvili was exiled,

tortured and shot as a punishment for his patriotism. Furthermore, his name was made taboo and his works were banned until the 1950s (1937).

Samson Pirtskhalava (სამსონ ფორცხალავა), a co-founder of the journal *Peasant* (გლეხი), who similarly to the like-minded Javakhsivhili was arrested and exiled several times for his political views, considered Ibsen's plays to be actual for addressing the problems posed in contemporary Georgian society. Pirtskhalava, using the pseudonym კალამი (a pen) published an article on the social dramas of Ibsen in the newspaper *ცნობის ფურცელი* in 1903. Pirtskhalava's article demonstrates Jauss' proposition that the new text evokes for the reader the horizon of expectations (Jauss 1974:13). When analyzing Ibsen's works, Pirtskhalava focuses on the poignant problems of the Georgian reality. Even though the author of the article acknowledges that Ibsen's message to his age is a call for individual freedom, he still stresses the importance of national freedom. "The state has become some kind of idol nowadays that uses the same mould for forming different individuals. The modern system attempts to make everyone be like each other, so that the only difference between people is their number. The state has made people into unimportant creatures and the system it has built serves the purpose of turning individuals into slaves", claims Pirtskhalava. One can argue that the state Pirtskhalava is writing about is not just Norway that Ibsen was criticizing, but also the Russian Empire that was pursuing Russification politics the final goal of which was the elimination of the consciousness of its subject nations and making non-Russians into their slaves (კალამი 1903).

Literature and the printing press were strictly censored during the Russian tutelage in Georgia. Georgian progressive thinkers, among them leading Georgian writers and journalists were prohibited from publicly expressing their opinions. Some of them were already known for their political activism and their works were banned. For this reason, when publishing new articles, they often used pseudonyms instead of their real names; otherwise, the censors would never have allowed their articles to appear in the press. Writers applied to symbols and allegories in order to disguise their original intentions. Pirtskhalava's article is full of allusions. The existing system should be totally destroyed. Or else the new one cannot be introduced. Free will should be the basis of the state and not power (კალამი 1903:2), argues Pirtskhalava in his article on Ibsen's dramas. Obviously, censorship would never allow those

phrases to be published had they realised that the criticism concerned not European but modern Russian reality.

Similarly to other Georgian literary critics, Shalva Natadze (შალვა ნათაძე) in his article “ჰენრიკ იბსენის უკიდურეს ინდივიდუალიზმის განვითარება” (“Development of absolute individualism in Henrik Ibsen’s dramas”) focuses on the issues that were current in his contemporary Georgian society. He analyzes dramas that express the struggle of an individual for freedom. The motto of Georgian intellectuals of that era was to serve one’s country and fight for its independence. According to Natadze, one of the main characteristics of Ibsen’s heroes is that they are civic figures ignoring self-interest and serving the benefits of the whole society. As an example, Cataline is striving for the revival of Rome, Stockmann’s goal is to show his co-citizens that their welfare is based on lies and falsehood (ნათაძე 1905). However, besides the patriotism of Ibsenian heroes, Natadze also concentrates on the conflict between an individual and society. He believes that poisoned water in *An Enemy of the People* symbolizes the immorality of modern society that has become the foundation of the important social institutions, among them the family. According to the author of the article, Ibsen does not deny the importance of the family but claims that fusty, illogical social norms should be eradicated.

One more interesting article on Henrik Ibsen was written by ლადო ახმეტელაშვილი (Lado Ahmetelashvili) who used the pseudonym Schwartz (შვარცი). Akhmetelashvili was a political activist who later became a member of the Constituent Assembly of Georgia. As a member of the Social-Democratic party, he applied Marxist philosophy to analyzing Ibsen’s plays. Akhmetelashvili, albeit recognizing Henrik Ibsen as one of the best playwrights of the modern era, started his article by quoting G. Plekhanov, a Russian philosopher and leader of Mensheviks, arguing that comparing Ibsen to Shakespeare was an exaggeration as Ibsen’s works bore didactic rather than artistic value. Furthermore, Akhmetelashvili emphasized that socio-political changes taking place in Ibsen’s contemporary society had an influence on his works. According to the Georgian literary critic those dramatic changes were not only reflected in Ibsen’s plays, but also became their leading motif. Akhmetelashvili drew parallels between plays of the Norwegian playwright and modern Georgian reality. As a result, he came to the conclusion that the main drawbacks of society that Ibsen portrayed in his dramas was lack of both technical achievements and capital and the proletariat (შვარცი 1910).

In the first decades of the twentieth century, when the Georgian nobility was losing its social and economic privileges, the clash of classes was a poignant issue that was reflected in the works of many Georgian writers. Akhmetelashvili emphasizes that the same problem is posed in Ibsen's plays: two social classes portrayed in his dramas have conflicting interests. The lower class advances its position in society at the expense of the upper class, the former nobility. However, the Georgian critic fails to notice that Ibsen criticizes representatives of both social classes. Akhmetelashvili himself tends to sympathize with the lower middle class that, in his words, played an important role in the history of France since it presented the political-revolutionary power connected to the proletariat, and argues that the Norwegian playwright favored winners of the drama of modernity (შვანავაძე 1910). The Georgian literary critic considers Ibsen's not being a socialist to be one of his main flaws. "Ibsen failed to notice that the aim of the proletariat can be achieved only by the battle between classes. [...] His words lack politics and without politics, according to Plekhanov, there is no socialism", claims Akhmetelashvili (შვანავაძე 1910).

To conclude, having checked articles published on Ibsen and his works in Georgian periodicals from the 1890s when the name of the Norwegian playwright was first mentioned in Georgian printing press to 1918 i.e. the end of the Russian tutelage, led me to the conclusion that Ibsen's reception in Georgia in this period was strongly influenced by the political situation in the country. When analyzing Ibsen's works, Georgian literary critics depending on their political views, stressed the issues that helped them to support their ideas. Many of them tended to focus on the problems that resembled the ones posed in their contemporary Georgian society. Georgian intellectuals of the first decades of the twentieth century considered the love of homeland to be a hereditary instinct of a person. Their "horizons of expectations" encompassed patriotism and fighting for independence and for this reason they tended to look for the same motifs in the works of foreign authors. Many literary critics used Ibsen's biography and analyses of his works for expressing their protest against the ruling political injustice; for calling their co-patriots to fight for independence and to revive Georgian national conscience. However, their protest was not direct but disguised: alongside with analyzing Ibsen's social dramas, they made references to the contemporary social/political system and left it to their readers to make the connection.

Having used the quantitative method of research assured me that most of Ibsen's dramas that have been particularly popular in Georgia were those that either bore or could be given a

political context. *A Doll's House* attracted much less attention of Georgian theater directors and literary critics than, for example *An Enemy of the People*. However, at the turn of the last century when gender issues were current in Georgia, *A Doll's House* was often applied to as an example of the emancipation of women in the modern world. Interestingly, not only the political setting of the first decades of the twentieth century, but also that of the Georgian Middle Ages influenced the reception of *A Doll's House* in this country. This is evidence of Jauss' idea that new literary works do not appear in an information vacuum but awakes memories and allusions of their readers whose previous experience has an impact on the reception of both new books and theatre performances.

2.2 Translations of Ibsen's works in Georgia under the Russian Empire

While Ibsen's plays have been staged in Georgia since the end of the 1890s, their translations appeared in Georgian periodicals only at the turn of the twentieth century. Moreover none of his plays were translated directly from Norwegian but through existing translations into other languages. Some translation scholars tend to call such translations indirect translations. Dollerup (Dollerup 2000) differentiates relay translation as being "the translation of a translated text into a third language" (Saldanha and Baker 2009:231) from an indirect translation, i.e. "the intermediary translation that is not intended for publication, but only as a stepping stone to the second translation" (ibid.). Relay translations have never attracted much attention of scholars as they were considered to be "a necessary evil" (ibid.). Even though I agree with those who believe that it is better to translate from the original text rather than from the translated text, I still consider relay translations to be important mediators of literary and cultural relations. Even nowadays, the number of Georgians who speak Norwegian is very low. Consequently, I doubt that anyone could have translated directly from Norwegian into Georgian more than a century ago. If not for relay translations, Georgian readers would never have had the possibility to read the works of Ibsen and many other Norwegian authors.

Most of the Georgian editions of Ibsen's plays do not state the language from which those translations were made, let alone naming the specific publications that were used as mediate translations. However, by checking the background of the translators and, furthermore, by looking at how they translated proper names of the original text, it is often possible to trace the mediate language. I agree with Tam who claims that "there is no point in comparing [relay translations] with the original in examining their accuracy and faithfulness" (Tam 1984:133). For this reason, instead of analyzing translations, I will rather apply the qualitative method to this chapter and check which works by Ibsen were or were not translated into Georgian during the Russian tutelage and by whom. Furthermore, I will try to find out what the motive of the translators of Ibsen's plays was, and whether or not the political situation had any effect on the selection process. When discussing Ibsen in Chinese translations, He compares Chinese relay translations to the Norwegian original (He 2004). I will also apply this method; however, unlike He, I will do so not in order to analyze the quality of the translations, but for checking whether or not some parts of the original were omitted or changed because of

censorship or as a consequence of the socio-political situation of Georgia in the beginning of the twentieth century.

The first translation of Ibsen's plays that appeared in the Georgian printing press was "პატარა ეოლფი" (*Little Eyolf*), published in *მთაბე* (*Herald*) in 1901. The translator of the play was Ivane Akhalshenishvili (ი.

ახალშენიშვილი), using the pseudonym in-ani (ინ-ანი). Even though *Little Eyolf* is the only work by Ibsen translated by Akhalshenishvili that is preserved in the database of the National Library of Georgia, it seems that Akhalshenishvili had translated other works by Ibsen as well, since under his photo published in *თეატრი და ცხოვრება* (*Theatre and Life*) in 1914 there is the following description: Iv. Akhalshenishvili (in-ani), a famous translation of the plays of Ibsen, (1914). In his youth Akhalshenishvili went to Tbilisi's Orthodox Seminary where he was expelled for participating in a student riot. Besides being a fruitful translator (accordingly, he has translated forty six books by Russian and foreign authors), Akhalshenishvili was a publicist,

systematically publishing his articles, reviews, etc. in progressive Georgian newspapers and journals, such as *Iveria*. For some time he lived in St Petersburg where he studied stomatology. Akhalshenishvili was known for his perfect knowledge of Georgian (1907). Translations of Dostoevsky, Gogol, Guy de Maupassant and Hauptmann are still popular among Georgian readers. Since he mostly translated works of Russian writers or via Russian, it is most likely that Akhalshenishvili used Russian as a mediate language when translating works of Ibsen. Photos of Akhalshenishvili indicate that the Georgian translator had frequent contact with the founder of the New Georgian theatre, Ilia Chavchavadze, theatre director Valerian Gunia, and others.

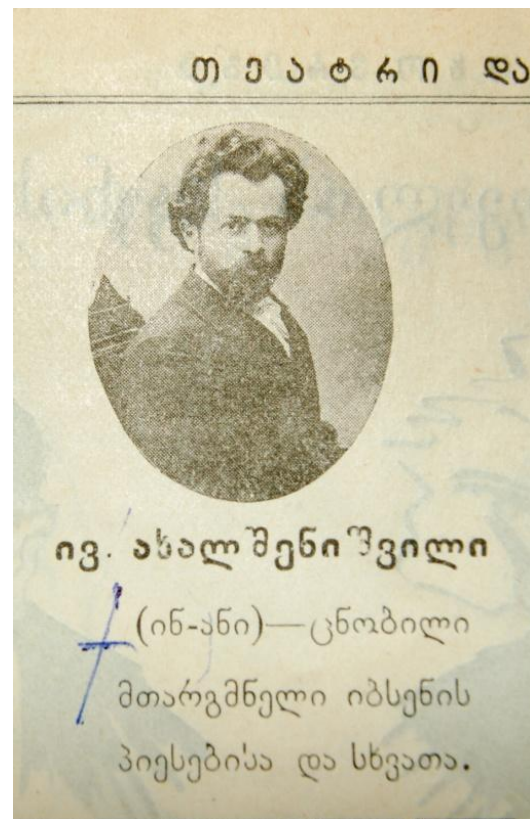


Fig. 4. Ivane Akhalshenishvili

An announcement on the premiere of *Nora* in Tbilisi in 1903 indicates that the play was translated by Avksenti Tsagareli (1903). Tsagareli was a permanent member of the theatre group of the Georgian Drama society. Besides, he was a famous Georgian playwright. He mostly wrote comedies, depicting lives of “the noblemen of autumn”, as a Georgian writer Davit Kldiashvili called them, i.e. the Georgian aristocracy losing power but still pretending to be what they were before (1987:182). The fact that Tsagareli’s translation was mentioned on the theatre poster but did not appear in any journal or newspaper of the time proves that he translated *A Doll’s House* not for the purpose of publishing it but for staging it in a theatre.

In 1903, the Georgian translation of “ხალხის მტერი ანუ ექიმი შტოკმანი” (*An Enemy of The People*) appeared in *ბოძბე* (*Herald*). To my surprise, I found that the translator of the play into Georgian, Ivane Polumordvinov (ივანე პოლუმორდვინოვი) later became a member of the censorship committee of Georgia and a Georgian language censor. Polumordvinov is a Russian family name. However, Ivane Polumordvinov was brought up in Georgia. The list of students of the Georgian Religious Seminary shows that Polumordvinov graduated from Gori Theological School in 1891 (2013). After the graduation, Polumordvinov was enrolled in the Orthodox Seminary of Tiflis. Students of Tiflis Orthodox Seminary (among them Stalin, who was expelled from the seminary in 1899), were known to read works of progressive writers, forbidden literature and to discuss them (Montefiore 2007). Therefore, it is possible that Polumordvinov became interested in Ibsen’s works while studying there. After graduating from Tiflis Orthodox Seminary, Polumordvinov studied law in Russia until (1902). By the time he returned to Georgia, Polumordvinov was very interested in literature. Among other writers, he translated works of Chekov, Gorki and Ibsen into Georgian.

Samson Pirtskhalava, one of the first Georgian publicists who became interested in Ibsen’s works, in one of his memoirs called “Censorship and press” describes how the censorship machine worked in Georgia under the Russian tutelage. The Georgian censorship committee consisted of seven members: the head of the committee; two senior censors, one for European languages and one for Russian; two junior censors for Georgian and Armenian languages; an inspector of bookshops and editorial houses and a secretary (ფორცხალავა 2013). Most of the censors of Georgian language were of Georgian origin or fluent in Georgian. They were trusted by the Russian officials and loyal to the Tsar. The first and foremost duty of censors was to ban anything dealing with national or revolutionary movement. The translator of

Doctor Stockmann was appointed as a Georgian language censor in January 1908 (1908). Even though, according to Pirtskhalava, Polumordvinov obeyed rules, he was “not as strict as his predecessors and, moreover, quite helpful” (ფორცხალავა 2013). Furthermore, Pirtskhalava remembers that Polumordvinov even warned Georgian journalists if there was any danger. For example, he had secretly told Pirtskhalava that his mail was being checked by the gendarmerie. Even though Polumordvinov was sometimes willing to help Georgian publicists, he was not the one who made the final decision. Pirtskhalava remembers that in 1913 he and his friends prepared a collection of stories for publication. Polumordvinov read his story, crossed out just a few paragraphs and said that his permission would not be enough for publishing that story. Moreover, he warned Pirtskhalava that his piece could cause a banning of the publication of the whole book. Later, Pirtskhalava self-censored his own work, deleted some parts of it that could be seen as a threat to the ruling regime and thus saved the book from being banned (ფორცხალავა 2013). Even after being appointed as a censor, Polumordvinov remained a supporter of the Georgian theatre. An announcement published in *თეატრი და ცხოვრება* (*Theatre and Life*) in 1914 informed that he was writing a history of world drama, where he would include the history of the Georgian theatre (1914). Furthermore, another announcement published the same year stated that Ivan Polumordvinov was going to publish *An Enemy of The People* or *Doctor Stockmann* as a book and donate money received from the sale of books to the Georgian theatre (1914).

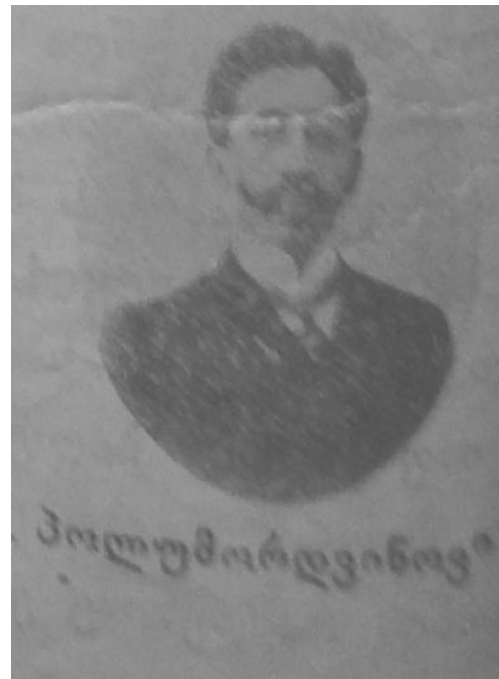


Fig.5. Ivane Polumordvinov

მოჩვენებანი (*Ghosts*) was first translated into Georgian by Iakob Tsintsadze (იაკობ ცინცაძე), using the pseudonym Ia Ekaladze (ია ეკალაძე) and was published in *მოამბე*. Tsintsadze was a playwright, writer, publicist and literary critic. He was expelled from Tbilisi Orthodox Seminary in 1893 as a “politically suspicious” student. After graduating from Kazan university, department of law, Tsintsadze returned to Georgia and became the editor of newspapers *Kartli* (1912-1913), and later of *სამშობლო* (*Homeland*) in 1915-1916 (1979).

Tsintsadze was an active member of the Social-Democratic group of Georgia. Most of his articles published in the newspaper *Homeland* (სამშობლო) dealt with national problems. For example, he demanded from the Russians to acknowledge the achievements of Georgian soldiers and the sacrifice of the Georgian nation made in the first world war (ქობაღიაძე 2000:65).

Valerian Gunia – the director of *Nora*, translated *Ghosts*, but never published it. He read his translation one literary evening held in *Public House* (სახალხო სახლი) in 1907 and, according to Amirejibi (ამირეჯიბი 1956:13), his work was well received and appreciated by the audience. In 1912 a Georgian translator, Gutsa Namoradze (გუცა ნამორაძე), who is known for translating Georgian literature into Ukrainian and vice versa (ელერდაშვილი 1962), published the translation of *გარეული იხვი* (*The Wild Duck*) in *სახალხო გაზეთი* (*Public Newspaper*), N665-667. Interestingly, as with to Akhalshenisvili and Tsintsadze, Namoradze was also one of those students who was expelled from Tbilisi Orthodox Seminary for his revolutionary activity. Later he was exiled for preaching revolutionary ideas (ელერდაშვილი). One more translation of *The Wild Duck*, however, “weaker” than the one of Namoradze, was made by the actor Platon Chikvinidze (პლატონ ჩიკვინიძე) (ამირეჯიბი 1956:13).

The database of Georgian periodicals of the Georgian National Library is still being compiled. Therefore, I could not trace all the translations of Ibsen’s works that were made during the Russian tutelage. However, a brochure published by the censorship committee of Georgia in 1913, presenting an alphabetical list of the plays that were allowed to be staged in Georgia, as well as Amirejibi’s article, have preserved the list of translations of Ibsen’s plays together with the names of the translators. According to Amirejibi, the translator of *Pillars of Society* (საზოგადოების დედაბოძი) that was staged in 1914 by the theatre troupe of the Georgian Drama Society, was Alexandre Imedashvili, an outstanding Georgian actor.

Amirejibi Further stages that the Georgian director Valerian Gunia, translated not only *Ghosts* but also *Hedda Gabler* that was to have been staged in 1909/1910, while *The League of Youth* and *The Lady from the Sea*, translated by Nino Nakashidze, a Georgian writer and translator who was arrested and exiled for her political views a number of times, were to be staged in

1910-1911 (ამირეჯიბი 1956). *The Feast at Solhaug* was translated by the Georgian actor D. Gamkrelidze (using the pseudonym D. Atskhureli (დასწერელი) who had written and translated up to 15 plays (1987:77), *Brand* – by the political activist K. Kandelaki, and *John Gabriel Borkman* by the Georgian director and actor Kote Meskhi (ამირეჯიბი 1956). The list of the permitted plays on Georgian stage mentions translations of Ibsen's plays that has not survived to the present day, *The Wild Duck* translated by Botlieva-Chikvinadze (Полумордвиновъ 1913:64), *Ellida* or *The Lady from the Sea* (ელლიდა ანუ ქალი ზღვიდან) (ibid.:69) and *Pillars of Society* (საზოგადოების ბურჯნი), translated by Abakelia (ibid.:91), *Doctor Stockmann* translated by V. Tkavadze (ibid.:108) and *The Vikings at Helgeland* (called *ბრძოლვითის გმირნი* i.e. *Heroes of the North* in Georgian, similarly to the title of the Russian translation called *Северные богатыри*), translated by N.Gegelashvili (ibid.:105).

As one can see, the majority of Ibsen's plays that were translated into Georgian during the Russian tutelage were realistic social plays, probably due the fact that Georgian writers and theatre directors of that time proclaimed a utilitarian view of art. For this reason, it is not surprising that some of the symbolic dramas by Ibsen did not attract the attention of Georgian translators. What I find the most interesting is that translations of almost no historical dramas by Ibsen were published in Georgian periodicals or staged at any Georgian theatre in the period when the historical-patriotic motive was the leading trend in Georgian literature and theatre. Georgian writers and theatre directors used history as a means of awakening the national consciousness of Georgians and of reminding them of their heroic past. By depicting Georgia's struggle against foreign conquerors, they did not attempt to draw attention of their co-patriots to the past, but to show them that notwithstanding the hardships our country had undergone, the Georgian spirit remained alive and was durable. Tickets for historical drama *Homeland* by Giorgi Eristavi were always sold out. Each performance was more like a demonstration rather than a theatrical event (კიკნაძე 2003).

Ibsen's historical dramas, *Catiline*, *Emperor and Gallilean*, *The Pretenders*, that “combined history with a clear poetic vision of what was stirring in contemporary life” (Hemmer 1994:15), portraying the fight for national identity, would by all means be interesting by the Georgian society of that time. Interestingly, none of these dramas are included in Ivane

Polumordvinov's alphabetical list of the plays permitted to be staged on a Georgian stage. Consequently, it is obvious that the reason why the historical dramas of Ibsen were not translated, published or staged in Georgia under the Russian tutelage was due to the Foreign Censorship Committee that was established in Russia in 1828 and that was responsible for censoring materials printed abroad (Haue 2001). According to Pirtskhalava, Russian officials were most of all afraid of a national awakening of non-Russians (ფორცხალავა 2013). For this reason, logically, they would consider for example *The Pretenders* portraying a king striving for the unification of his kingdom and the awakening of national identity among his people, as a threat to their imperialistic politics.

One more interesting aspect that should be taken into consideration when discussing Ibsen's translations into Georgian is that their majority (if not all) seems to have been made via Russian. Relay translations played an important role in establishing contacts between different cultures (usually, European and Non-European) (Saldanha and Baker 2009:232). However, in colonized territories, translations were mediated by one language, the language of the colonizer. For example, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries European literature was translated into Tagalog almost exclusively from Spanish. The policy of Russification pursued by the Russian Empire, imposed the Russian language and culture on a conquered people, suppressing local languages and customs, finally aiming to erase other cultures and expand the Russian territory, had much in common with the politics of colonization. As a result, similarly to colonizing languages that were portal languages between the colonized country and the rest of the world (Saldanha and Baker 2009:232), Russian became the mediating language that was used for relaying the literature of other countries into Georgian.

Russian officials were afraid that subversive ideas would be spread throughout the Russian Empire through Western European literature and therefore the Foreign Censorship Committee of Russia scrupulously censored works by European authors. Considering that most of the works of Ibsen were relayed into Georgian during the Russian tutelage, Georgian translators had to translate probably already censored works by Ibsen. For this reason, when discussing what was altered or omitted in Georgian translations, it is difficult to say who was in charge of those changes: Georgian or Russian translators, or the censorship committee of Georgia or of Russia. However, since the politics pursued in Georgia at the time were similar and probably even stricter than the politics pursued in the rest of the Russian Empire, it is still

interesting to look at some examples and check whether or not it is possible to trace impact of the political regime on Ibsen translations into Georgian (in most cases via Russian). *An Enemy of the People* seems to have been one of the most discussed and staged works by Ibsen in this period. Therefore, I will take the Georgian translation of this play as an example. I will base my comparison on translation linguistics, namely on the categories of content in translation.

The Russian scholar I.R. Galperin claimed that in any text one can distinguish the following types of informativeness of content: factual information, conceptual information and subtextual or hidden information (მერაბიშვილი 2005:328). The Georgian scholar in translation studies, Inness Merabishvili, added one more category to the system of Galperin, an image-bearing category of content, i.e. the linguistic image enclosed in words, mainly in poetry (მერაბიშვილი 2005:344) and applied the system to translation analyses. Obviously, the categories of informativeness of the content of text are interdependent. Changing or misinterpreting factual information of the original in the translation can cause altering conceptual information, losing subtextual information. *ქიმი სტოკმანი ანუ ხალხის მტერი* (*Doctor Stockmann* or *An Enemy of the People*) translated by Ivane Polumordvinov is a good example of the mentioned phenomenon. Even though the author has not altered much of the factual information, the information “that comprises data on facts, phenomena and processes of the present world or the imaginary reality” (მერაბიშვილი 2005:328), some parts of the play are translated so that the meaning of the original text is totally changed. Interestingly, many “misinterpretations” made in the translation are connected with the concept of freedom. For example, in the last act of the original *Doctor Stockmann* promises his sons: “men jeg vil få jer til at bli’ fri, fornemme mænd” (HIS 7: 725), translated as “I’ll make free, noble-minded men of you” into English by Eleanor Marx-Aveling (Ibsen and Marx-Aveling 2013), while in the Georgian translation he claims: “და ვეცდები თავისუფლების მოყვარული და პატიოსანი ვაჟკაცები გამოგიყვანოთ” (იბსენი 1903:82) [I will try to make you freedom-loving and honest men]. Even though the word “freedom” is maintained in the translation, the change of the factual information causes a change in the concept of the text. Firstly, a freedom-loving person is not necessarily free. Georgian people have often been referred to as a freedom-loving nation, even in the periods when the country had lost its independence. Secondly, the promise of Doctor Stockman in the

original sounds more decisive than in the Georgian translation, where he will merely make an attempt.

Similarly, at the end of the second act of the original, in the dialogue between Doctor Stockmann and his wife, the doctor says: “jeg vil ha’ ret til at se mine gutter i øjnene, når de engang blir voksne fri mænd” (HIS 7:607), [I want to have the right to look into my sons’ eyes when they are grown free men]. This extract is translated into Georgian in a following way: “მე მინდა, რომ ჩემ შვილებს თავისუფლად შეეძლოთ შემდეგში ჩემი ცქერა და როცა წამომეზრდებიან არც მე ვწითლდებოდე მათი შეხედვით” (იბსენი 1903:62) [I want my children to be able to look at me freely in the future, and when they grow up I do not want to blush when looking at them either]. In this case the changes caused by misinterpreting the factual information are more obvious than in the previous example. In the Georgian translation it is not even mentioned that Stockmann’s children will be free when they grow up. For this reason, both the conceptual and subtextual information is lost. Ibsen uses the word “free” very often in *An Enemy of the People*. Part of the Georgian translation maintains the textual information given in the original. However, the use of words “free” and “freedom” is much less frequent in the Georgian translation compared to the original. I believe this is due to the political winds and censorship machine existing in Georgia in the period when the translation was made.

However, it should be mentioned that sometimes altering textual information in the translation not only change the conceptual or subtextual information, but can also make it more obvious. For example, in the second act Doctor Stockmann blames his brother: “Det var dig, som fik drevet igennem, at både badebygningerne og vandværket blev lagt, hvor de nu ligger; og det er det, - det er dette forbandede misgreb, som du ikke vil indrømme (HIS 7:593), translated into English as “It was you who insisted that both the baths and the water-works should be laid out where they now are; and it is that, it is that blunder which you won't confess” (Ibsen and Marx-Aveling 2013), while this paragraph is translated thus: “არსებული სისტემა შენი საქმეა, შენი შეცდომაა და ამიტომ არ გინდა გასტყდე. შენს ცრუ თავმოყვარეობას ხალხის კეთილ დღეობას სწირავ” (იბსენი 1903:52) [The existing system is your creation and your mistake, that is why you do not want to confess. You are scarifying the welfare of people to your pride] (Ibsen 2010). By changing “baths” and “water conduits” by the word “system”, a polysemantic word in Georgian that can denote both a network of supplies, e.g. water conduits and a political system or government, it gives

a double meaning to Doctor Stockmann's words. The translator lets the Georgian readers decide whether it was the water conduits or the existing political system that government officials failed to establish.

Interestingly, information is not only omitted but also added in the Georgian translation. Most of the examples of added factual information that I found serve the purpose of underlining the data given in the original or giving it a more critical tone. For example the part of the original where Doctor Stockmann exclaims: "Og sligt noget kan disse kontortrælle føre ned over en fri ærlig mand! Er det ikke forfærdeligt, Katrine?" (HIS 7) , "And such threats this officemonger dares utter to a free and honest man! Isn't it horrible, Katrine?" (Ibsen and Marx-Aveling 2013) is translated into Georgian as "ო, ღმერთო, რად არის ასე, რომ ამისთანა საძაგელ და საზიზღარ მხეცებს შეუძლიანთ პატიოსან და თავისუფალ კაცს ამდენი უბედურება დაატეხონ თავზედ? რა საზიზღარია და რა ძნელია ეს მოსათმენად!" (იბსენი 1903:61) where the word *kontortrælle*, i.e. a person who is slave of or bound to office life (Ibsen 2008:681) is relayed as "an atrocious and despicable beast" into Georgian. However, there are cases where textual information of the original is transformed so that in the translation it evokes an association with the local socio-political situation of the time. In the fourth act, when Doctor Stockmann talks about people residing in remote north, Hovstad makes the following comment: "Dette er forhånelser imod en agtværdig almue!" (HIS 7:666). The word 'almue' can denote a group of people, or a number of people in Norwegian. However, it can also mean a group of peasants or people who belong to the lower social class (HIS 7K:712). The comment is translated into Georgian as "პატივცემული გლეხობის ეგრე შეურაცხება" [such an insult to respectable peasantry]. As one can see, the Georgian translator chose to use the word "peasantry" rather than the word "population" unlike some other translators as Farquharson Sharp who translated this sentence into English as "it is an insult to respectable population" (Ibsen 2010). I believe that the "horizon of expectations" caused the choice of Georgian and probably Russian translators. Peasants were emancipated in Russia and Georgia at the second part of the nineteenth century. However, the problems of the former peasantry stayed acute in the beginning of the twentieth century. For this reason, it is logical that the translator connected the textual information given in the original to his contemporary society and identified the lower social level of people that Doctor Stockmann mentioned in his speech to the local peasantry that remained at the bottom of the social hierarchy, even after being granted freedom.

I have found some parts of the original altered in the Georgian translation so that such a change draws obvious parallels to Georgian political situation at the time. In the second act of the play, Peter Stockmann explains to his disobedient brother: “som underordnet tjenestemand ved badet har du ikke lov til at udtale nogen overbevisning, som står i strid med dine foresattes” (HIS 7:598), “as a subordinate member of the staff of the Baths, you have no right to express any opinion which runs contrary to that of your superiors” (Ibsen 2010). This phrase is translated into Georgian as “როგორც დამოკიდებულ ოფიციალურ პირს კი, ნება არა გაქვს ისეთი აზრი და შეხედულება წარმოსთქვა და მით უმეტესად გამოაქვეყნო და გაავრცელო, რომელიც შენი მთავრობის აზრს და შეხედულებას ეწინააღმდეგება” (იბსენი 1903:57) [as a subordinate person, an officer, you are not allowed to express such an idea or opinion, let alone publishing or spreading information that is contrary to the ideas and opinions of your government]. In Norwegian, Peter Stockmann tries to prevent his brother from “expressing his private opinions” while the additional information that is introduced in the Georgian translation warns him that, in addition, he is not allowed to publish and spread ideas that run contrary to that of government representatives. I believe that inserting this sentence in the translation aims to draw parallels to the censorship machine functioning in Georgia that was first and foremost created for preventing people from expressing, publishing and spreading ideas which posed a threat to the Imperialistic politics of Tsarist Russia.

To conclude, by comparing the Georgian translation of *An Enemy of the People* to the Norwegian original it is possible to trace alterations that could be the result of the work of the censorship committee of Georgia. However, some changes can be caused by the “horizons of the expectations” of Georgian and Russian translators or their personal preferences. Having studied Ibsen translations into Georgian made in the first two decades of the twentieth century led me to the following conclusions: The majority of those Georgians who made translations of Ibsen’s plays were either professional translators and publicists, or theatre directors and actors. Considering that most of the translators were progressive thinkers, politically active and known for their anti-Tsarist ideas, makes me think that the reason why they chose to translate Ibsen’s works was that the latter addressed problems posed in their contemporary reality. The majority of the plays by Ibsen that were relayed into Georgian in that period were realistic plays. Probably due to the fact that utilitarian view of art was proclaimed in Georgia, symbolic plays by Ibsen did not attract so much attention of Georgian translators as the

realistic plays. However, the absence of translations of historical plays can be explained by the fact that Russian officials feared that the plays portraying the unification of a nation, the forming of national consciousness and national battles could awake a national spirit in Georgians and, therefore the censors excluded plays such as *Catiline* and *The Pretenders* from the list of plays that were permitted to be staged in Georgia. Furthermore, the fact that the majority of the translations have been made through Russian is related to Russification politics and provides one more evidence of the phenomenon that colonizing languages tend to be portal languages between a colonized country and the rest of the world.

2.3 Ibsen on the Georgian Stage under the Russian Empire

Ibsen's plays appeared on the Georgian stage not only before they attracted the attention of literary critics but also before translations of Ibsen's plays into Georgian were published in the country. Since 1898, Ibsen's plays have been an indispensable part of the repertoire of the Georgian theatre. Between 1898

and 1914, four plays by Ibsen, namely *Nora* (*A Doll's House*), *Doctor Stockmann* (*An Enemy of the People*), *Ghosts* and *Pillars of Society* have been performed by various Georgian theatre groups. *Doctor Stockmann* seems to have been the most popular play by Ibsen in Georgia under the Russian Empire, since it was staged by five Georgian directors, two of them being co-directors. In this sub-

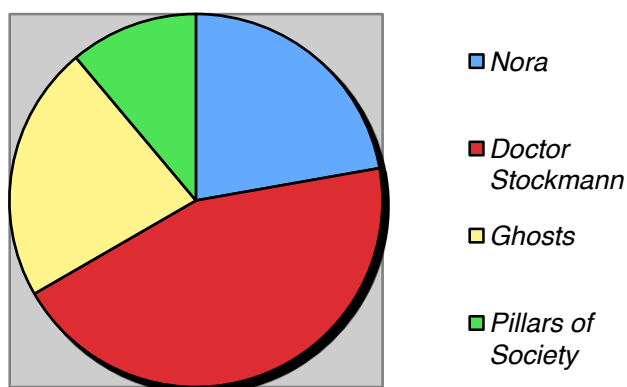


Fig. 6. Chart of the relative distribution of Ibsen's plays on Georgian stages under the Russian Empire

chapter I will try to discover why Georgian theatre directors chose to stage those particular works by Ibsen. Furthermore, I will check whether or not the performances bear the influence of the socio-political conditions of Georgia under the Russian Empire. Since only short extracts of the audio recordings of some of the performances have survived, I will mainly apply a historiographic approach to this part of the thesis and study posters, photos and theatre programmes found in the Archives of the Georgian State Museum of Theatre, Cinema, Music and Choreography. When researching how the performances were accepted by the Georgian audiences of that time, I will base my conclusions on the theatre reviews published in Georgian periodicals under the Russian Empire.

First of all, I will say a few words about the Georgian theatre. The professional Georgian theatre was founded in 1850 by Giorgi Eristavi. However, similarly to the Georgian language, the Georgian theatre encountered oppression. Priority was given to the Russian theatre, resulting in minimal funding for the Georgian theatre. Furthermore, the number of days the Georgian theatre troupe was given for rehearsals and giving performances, were

gradually decreased and, as a result, the Giorgi Eristavi theatre closed down in 1856 (ჯოჯბადე 2003:168-169). A Georgian language theatre was re-established in 1879 by Ilia Chavchavadze and his entourage (Rayfield 2000:169). This was a difficult time for the country but the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881 raised hopes among many Georgians, only to be disappointed by a new and much worse policy of the new tsar. Russification, repression and centralization were the main characteristics of that era. The Caucasus had been governed by a viceroy before, but as a result of changes made by Alexander III, the generals answering to the minister of the interior became the rulers of the Caucasus. Ethnic Georgians were not given any official posts. Moreover, the curator of the Caucasian Educational District, Ianovsky, enforced a new policy under which the Georgian language was excluded from the school curriculum. Russian became the language of instruction in Georgian schools (Rayfield 2012:307). Furthermore, considering that under Tsarist Russia the autocephaly of the Georgian church was abolished and it was made part of a synod of the Russian Exarchy, the Georgian theatre was the only place where Georgians could hear their native language. Therefore, besides being a cultural institution, the Georgian stage had another function. "Drama is very important for us", wrote Ilia Chavachavade, the founder of the New Georgian Theatre, "this is the only marker of our nationality [...] the theatre is the place where our language is heard publicly" (ჯოჯბადე 1978:8).

As one can see, the primary goal of the Georgian theatre was first and foremost protecting and preserving the Georgian language. Georgian theatre directors demanded from the actors to speak "pure" Georgian. Theatre critics severely criticized those who did not have a good command of their native language or used Russian 'barbarisms' (ჯოჯბადე 2003:265). Furthermore, Chavchavadze claimed that "the theatre was a school [...] [where] people could get more education there than anywhere else" " (ჯოჯბადე 1978:8). The audience of the Georgian language theatre, according to him, consisted of "poor people, representing the lower social class" (ჯოჯბადე 1978:11). At the end of the nineteenth century, only 23.6 percent of the Georgian population was literate. Therefore, Chavchavadze did not exaggerate when he claimed that the Georgian theatre had the function of educating Georgians. And last but not least, the theatre in Georgia under the Russian Empire was a tribune for spreading political opinion. The Theatre repertoire was chosen very carefully. Georgian directors tended to stage plays that would not only enlighten their fellow countrymen, but would also raise their national consciousness in Georgians and encourage them to fight for Georgian independence

(კიკნაძე 2003:214). Chavchavdze and his like-minded theatre directors believed that if meaningless or superficial plays were to be presented on the Georgian stage, "the theatre would turn into a barrel-house" (კიკნაძე 1978:12). For this reason, Georgian intellectuals demanded theatre directors to choose worthy plays that were relevant to their contemporary society, study them well and only then stage them. Georgian progressive thinkers would rather see the Georgian theatre disappear than degraded (ibid.).

Georgian, Russian and Armenian language theatres have co-existed in Georgia since the end of the nineteenth century. All those theatres staged Ibsen's plays. As an example, according to Zahedi, Ibsen's dramaturgy was first introduced in Iran by Armenian directors from Tbilisi touring their productions in the main cities of Iran in the first two decades of the twentieth century (Zahedi 2006:iii). The first play by Ibsen that was performed in the Georgian language theatre was *Nora*, directed by Lado Alexi-Meskhishvili (ლადო ალექსი-მესხიშვილი). The premiere took place in Kutaisi Theatre on February 20, 1898. In this period, since the Georgian theatre received very little funding, benefit performances were quite common: the theatre troupe would perform a play in order to raise money for a particular actor or actress who performed the role of the main or one of the main characters. *Nora* was first staged as a benefit performance devoted to Nino (Nutsa) Chkheidze (ნინო ჩხეიძე), an outstanding Georgian actress. Nutsa Chkheidze was one of the first Georgian actresses. During her career she performed more than three hundred roles, among them the role of Medea, Ophelia and Mary Stuart. Lado-Alexi Meskhishvili, in addition to being the director of the performance, also performed the role of Helmer (ამირეჯიბი 1956:13).

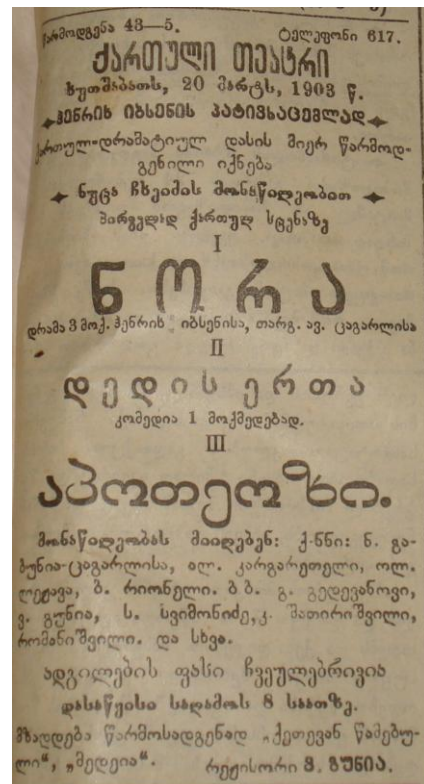


Fig. 7. Announcement for the premiere of *Nora*

Soon after being staged in Kutaisi, *Nora* was seen for the first time in Tbilisi, (ქართული სცენა). On the 20th of March, 1903, the Georgian Dramatic Society celebrated the 75th anniversary of Ibsen by staging *Nora*. The cast mainly consisted of the actors who had performed in Kutaisi (ლაშქარაძე 1974:964). When the curtains rose, a

bust of Ibsen, decorated with flowers standing on the stage was exposed to the audience. After the performance, the audience was shown a vaudeville that was followed by a short lecture on Ibsen. The director of the performance, Valerian Gunia , read the biography of the Norwegian playwright and talked about some of Ibsen's works (unknown 1903).

Theatre reviews published by the Georgian printing press in the first decades of the twentieth century illustrate that the Georgian literary critics accepted Ibsen's *A Doll's House* favourably and considered Nora to be a brave character with a strong will who, similarly to Doctor Stockmann, dared to protest against a hypocritical society and fight for her personal freedom (ჭანჭი 1904). As for the performance, according to some theatre critics "it did not meet the expectations of the Georgian audience"(unknown 1903), since the actors performed their roles poorly. For example, the review published in *Iveria* two days after the premiere of *Nora* in Tbilisi claims that Nutsa Chkheidze acted the role of Nora too dramatically, instead of presenting a naïve young woman as Ibsen had portrayed her. Moreover, according to the theatre critic, the actors performing the roles of Kristine Linde and the male characters did not do their job well either. However, another review written by Samson Pirtshalava, using the pseudonym სიტყვა (word), claimed that Georgian theatre goers received *Nora* well. However, probably due to the fact that the play lacked action (ibid.), some of the members of the audience found it boring and were sleeping during the whole performance (სიტყვა 1903:4). There were some who did not understand the essence of the play and were whispering to each other in the theatre: do you



Fig.8. Nutsa Chkheidze as Nora

understand what the author is trying to tell us in this play? (ibid.). A few "educated" Georgians who had never heard of Ibsen, even reproached the director for staging the Russian play *Burrow*, mixing the female name Nora with a Russian word нора (pronounced as Nora) meaning a hole or burrow (ibid.).

Interestingly, Ibsen was aware of the fact that the Georgian audience knew of him and his plays. Erekle Lukashvili, a Georgian publicist, in his memoirs remembers his meeting with Ibsen. Lukashvili was a frequent theatregoer. In his article written in 1958 he claims that in 1903 he attended *Nora* in Munich Theatre. After the performance he went to the theatre café. Every seat was taken except for the one at the table where a grey haired man was reading a foreign language newspaper. Only after having taken a seat, Lukashvili noticed that there was a metal flag on the table, indicating that the seat was reserved. He was about to leave when the old man stopped him, and invited him at the table. Seeing that everyone was staring at the grey-haired man, Lukashvili realized that his companion was Ibsen. The Norwegian playwright asked Lukashvili whether he was a foreigner. Lukashvili answered that he was from Georgia and that he had just watched his play. Being asked his opinion on the performance, Lukashvili told Ibsen that he found the play interesting. However, in his opinion, the content lacked credibility. According to the Georgian theatregoer, there was nothing strange about Nora leaving her husband. However, Lukashvili believed that no mother would abandon her children like that. Ibsen was silent for a moment and then uttered: “many people, including Brandes, have told me the same. However, I could not have ended the play otherwise” (ლუკაშვილი 1958:19). Considering that Ibsen was severely ill in 1903 and could hardly go anywhere, he could not have met Lukashvili that year. However, it is worth mentioning that Lukashvili wrote his article more than fifty years after the event he described in his memoirs. Therefore, it is possible that he mixed dates.

It is unfortunate that Ibsen did not meet one of the many Georgian theatre critics who claimed that had Nora not left home, she would have shared the fate of Fru Alving and would have had to spend the rest of her life in lies. According to Pirtskhalava, it was mostly moralists who disapproved of Nora’s decision, claiming that the Ibsenian heroine could only achieve the freedom that she was striving for by rejecting all her duties and leaving home. ”Why should not Nora abandon her family? Was she a brood-hen who should not leave her nest? Why should she sacrifice herself to a family that was not worth it? Why should she bury herself with a dead family? [...] Had Nora stayed at home, she would never have had an opportunity of awakening. No, Nora should leave! Every woman who is in the same situation as Nora, should leave!”, claimed Pirtskhalava (ბიტყვა 1903). Furthermore, according to him, the reason why some Georgians disapproved of Nora’s decision was their own cowardice: “the brave decision of Ibsen’s heroine frightens us, since we are cowards, we are used to making

compromises”, he stated. Obviously, the politically engaged Georgian publicist who later became one of the members of the Constituent Assembly of Georgia, reproached his fellow-countrymen because of the fact that they put up with Russian tutelage and were not brave enough to fight for and restore their independence (ibid.). It seems that the Russian officials considered the performance presenting a brave heroine fighting for her liberation to be a risk to their imperialistic politics, since soon after the Tbilisi premiere *Nora* was banned until 1912.

As figure 6 shows, *An Enemy of the People* was the most staged play by Ibsen in Georgia under the Russian Empire. As in Germany and Russia, the title of the play was translated into Georgian as *Doctor Stockmann*. The premiere of the performance directed by Kote Meskhi and Akaki Tsereteli, was held in 1903. It is worth mentioning that both of those directors were supporters of realism, demanding that the arts should be useful for society. Kote Meskhi (1857-1914) who alongside with being a theatre director, was a well known translator, playwright and theatre critic, believed that the theatre should first and foremost reflect reality and show society accurately (კოჭნაძე 2003:314). Akaki Tsereteli (1840-1915) was one of the founders of the Georgian Dramatic Society. Furthermore, Tsereteli was an outstanding Georgian writer, translator, publicist and civic and political luminary of Georgia. Tsereteli proclaimed a utilitarian view of art and literature and used his works as a weapon against Russian oppression. In his poem “Mandolin” (“მანდოლინი”) Tsereteli claims that he plays the mandolin (i.e. writes poetry) “so that the oppressed, thanks to [it] [...] should have their eyes dried, and the oppressor with a blow to the heart should be penetrated by an arrow” (Rayfield 2000:163). According to Tsereteli, as with poetry, theatre should also serve justice. Consequently, the repertoire of a theatre should be chosen attentively so that it meets the needs of society (კოჭნაძე 2003:278). Interestingly, Tsereteli, as an opponent of symbolic and psychological dramas, criticized the works of Ibsen, Maeterlinck and Hauptman in his articles (ibid.:280). However, it seems that he approved of the realistic dramas of Ibsen, particularly *An Enemy of the People* and considered it to be relevant to contemporary society. Otherwise, he would never have staged it.

Doctor Stockmann quickly gained popularity among Georgians, albeit, as Gelovani proposes, “it posed a threat to Georgian Aslaksens and Mayors who were no better than their Norwegian counterparts” (გელოვანი 1957:43). The conservative members of the Georgian Drama Society, in order to prove their loyalty to the Tsar, forbade Anti Tsarist plays, among

them *Doctor Stockmann*. The drama was re-staged again only in 1909. The premiere of the renewed *Doctor Stockmann* that was held on April 11 opened the season of the New Theatre (ამორეჯობი 1956:13). While *Doctor Stockmann* was excluded from the repertoire of the theatre troupe of the Georgian Drama Society, other theatres of Georgia still continued to perform it. For example, *Doctor Stockmann* was often staged in Kutaisi, at the local theatre lead by Lado Alexi-Meskhishvili. Moreover, when touring different regions of Georgia, the Kutaisi Theatre troupe performed *Doctor Stockmann* three times in the towns of Western Georgia. Besides, according to the announcement published in *Iveria* 1905, vol.66, Lado Aleksi-Meskhishvili participated in the performance that was held for the workers of railway factories (ამორეჯობი 1956:13). *Doctor Stockmann* became an indispensable part of the repertoire of the People's Theatre (სახალხო თეატრი) and the Association of Actors (მსახიობთა ამხანაგობა). The Association of Actors first staged *Doctor Stockmann* on March 11, 1904. The director of the performance was Valerian Gunia. In his youth he was the head of a secret revolutionary circle of students. Shortly after the assassination of Alexander II, members of this circle arranged a secret meeting, mockingly called the "funeral party of the Tsar" where Gunia made a speech against the Tsarist regime. Soon the police learned of the meeting and Gunia was expelled from the school (ჯანელიძე 1963). Like Chavchavadze, Gunia believed that the main aim of the theatre was to promote Georgian nationalism and struggle for independence (ჯანელიძე 1963:11). In addition with having directed Ibsen's plays, Gunia was one of the first translators who rendered the works of the Norwegian playwright into Georgian. As with Tsereteli, Gunia was known for a repertoire that was relevant to contemporary problems. Considering this fact, together with Gunia's political and civic position, his interest in the works of the Norwegian playwright cannot be a mere coincidence.

Soon after the performance of the Association of Actors, *Doctor Stockmann* was staged by the drama troupe of the Theatrical Association (თეატრალური ამხანაგობის დასი) on 20.10.1905, directed by Kote Meskhi. From 1905 until 1911, the troupe staged *Doctor Stockmann* many times in different parts of the capital, e.g. in Avlabari on 12.11.1907 and 8.2.1909, in Nadzaladevi on 15.04.1911, in Avchala on 30.04.1905, 25.11.1907 and 15.12.1908 (ამორეჯობი 1956:14). According to the theatre programme of *Doctor Stockmann*, it was premiered on the 20th of October 1904 at the Treasury Theatre (სახაზინო

თეატრი). As for the cast of the performance, Kote Meskhi, the co-director performed the role of Doctor Stockmann. Mayor Peter Stockmann was performed by I. Gedevanishvili, whose family name appears as Gedevanov on the poster, since it was quite common at that time to russify Georgian names by changing the Georgian ending *-shvili* and *-dze* into the Russian ending of *-ev* or *-ov*). Ms. Javakhov (ჯავახიშვილი) and Kargareteli (კარგარეთელი) played the roles of Mrs Stockmann and Petra. Even though the performers of both leading and minor roles were established and experienced actors in Georgia, they were severely criticized for their acting. For example, two theatre reviews published in *Iveria* in October 1904 claimed that Kote Meskhi played the role of a doctor poorly and other performers were not any better (ქუჩუკი 1904:3). The theatre critic using the pseudonym ქუჩუკი in his article “Regarding the Latest Georgian performance” (“უკანასკნელ ქართულ წარმოდგენის გამო”) complained that because of the failure of the actors, he had to rush out of the theatre before the performance was over (ibid.). *Doctor Stockmann* was staged in provincial theatres as well. For example, in the performance held in Chiatura Theatre in 1907, Valerian Shalikashvili performed the role of the Doctor and his wife Nino Javakshvili acted the role of Mrs Stockmann (კიკნაძე 2003:693).

It seems that *Doctor Stockmann* was performed satisfactorily by smaller theatre groups of Georgia. I would like to underline that in that period critics were strict and did not hesitate to sharply criticize those directors who staged plays badly or chose to direct works that lacked either literary value or relevance to the contemporary situation. For example, in one of his theatre reviews, Ilia Chavchavadze claimed that there were just three problems connected to the performance [of some less known Russian play], otherwise it would be acceptable. “Firstly, the play was so bad that the author should never have written it. Secondly, such a bad play should not have been translated into Georgian and thirdly, it should never have been staged on a Georgian stage” (კიკნაძე 1978:16). As one can see, Georgian critics, when they found any flaws in the performance, directly expressed their opinions.

The play itself was received very well by the audience and theatre critics. As for *Doctor Stockmann*, Rajden Arsenidze (რაქდენ არსენიძე), using the pseudonym Arsen Rajdenidze (არსენ რაქდენიძე), in his analysis of the premiere of *Doctor Stockmann*, claimed: “At last a worthy play was staged in our country. On the stage we were shown pictures of real life that arouse feelings in our hearts and thoughts in our minds. The performance moved us. We went

out of the theatre satisfied, feeling that we did not spend our time in vain but gained important experience”(რაქდენიძე 1903). Another theatre critic signing the article as თეოდ. ხუბუკიძე, when discussing the repertoire of the Kutaisi Theatre, proposed that some of the plays that were staged in 1905, among them *Doctor Stockmann*, were received warmly by the audience because of their deep and meaningful content. Furthermore, the questions posed in those plays were identical to those of the audience (ხუბუკიძე 1905).

Constantin Stanislavskij in his *My life in Art* claims that the production of *The Enemy of The People* and the role of Doctor Stocmann should be included in the series of plays that “fell under the social and political mood [in Russia], because in those days *The Enemy of the People* had not only artistic but social meaning and was to a great extent the expression of the time” (Stanislavskij 1956:403). According to Stanislavskij, in the period before the Revolution, Russians were discontented with the political situation. They “longed for a hero who would boldly speak the truth straight to the government’s face. There was a demand for a revolutionary play and that is what *An Enemy of the People* became” (Stanislavskij and Beneditti 2008:217). Paradoxically, the audience considered *Doctor Stockmann* to be a socio-political play while for the director it belonged to the line of intuition and feeling (ibid. 218). Even though Stockmann did not trust the majority, his image still gained popularity since he was brave enough to protest, to tell the truth and it was enough for making him into a political hero (ibid. 217). As in Russia, there was a need for a hero in Georgia at the turn of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. Georgians however, desired such a hero for different reasons. Georgian intellectuals realized that Georgia did not have any chance against the Russian Empire that significantly exceeded Georgia in power, territories and population. All attempts of Georgians to rebel against the conquerors turned out to be a failure. The plotters were interrogated, arrested or exiled. The only hope for the nation was the appearance of a hero who would save our country from the aggressors. Akaki Tsereteli in his story “Bashi-Achuki” (“ბაში-აჩუკი”) symbolically portrayed Georgia’s attempt of liberation as a slaughter of young men by a dragon, symbolizing the Russian Empire. The only one who managed to defeat the dragon and slay it was St George, the patron saint of Georgia. As with Tsereteli, Ilia Chavchavadze's works reflect Georgia's strive for independence. For example, in his poem “Bazaleti Lake” the Georgian illuminator presents the independence of Georgia as a baby lying in a cradle at the bottom of the lake, waiting for a saviour.

But none can say what nameless babe
Is cradled there below,
Or why a nation's tears conceal
It there in endless flow...
Perhaps it holds and cradles one
Whose name none dares to speak —
A nation's hope, whom Georgians all
In silent longing seek,
If it be so, then happy he,
Whose fame will ever glow,
Whose puissant hand will be the first
To grasp that crib below! (Urusaze 1958).

Moreover, at the end of the nineteenth century, the most popular performances in the Georgian theatre were “სამშობლო” (*Homeland*) by G.Eristavi and “არსენა” (*Arsena*) by Kazgebi, both portraying heroes fighting for independence and social justice (კიკნაძე 2003:331-332). These examples show that by the time *An Enemy of the People* was introduced in Georgia, the horizons of expectations of the Georgian audiences encompassed liberation from the Russian tutelage and reviving the independence of their oppressed country. In *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception* Jauss underlines the dialogic character of the literary work, meaning that a literary work “is not an object that stands by itself that offers the same view to each reader in each period. It is not a monument that monologically reveals its timeless essence. It is much more like an orchestration that strikes ever new resonances among its readers and that frees the text from the material of the words and brings it to a contemporary existence” (Jauss and De Man 1982:21). Consequently, it is not surprising that the Georgian audience associated *Doctor Stockmann* with the reality they lived in and gave a different, Georgian context to the problems posed in Ibsen’s play. Georgian critics were impressed by the brave doctor and characterized him as “an indefatigable and relentless fighter for justice, contending for the truth”(რაჭდენიძე 1903). The Georgian audience, similarly to Russian theatregoers, turned the Ibsenian character into the saviour for which they were waiting.

Ghosts (მონვენებანი) was translated and staged by Valerian Gunia. The premiere was held on 17.06.1906 by the theatre troupe of the Association of Theatre (თეატრალური ამხანაგობის დასი). Valerian Gunia performed the leading role. The performers of other roles as Ivanidze (ივანიძე) – Fru Alving, G.Gedevanov (გ.გედევანოვი) – Pastor Manders, V.Abashidze (ვ.აბაშიძე) – Engstrand, Kargareteli (კარგარეთელი) – Regina were well-known Georgian actors who were associated with Ibsen's heroes, since they had already acted in *Doctor Stockmann* (ამირეჯიბი 1956:13). The premiere also served the purpose of giving more information to Georgian audiences about the Norwegian playwright. Before the commencement of the performance, Shio Chitadze (შოი ჩიტაძე) presented a paper on *Ghosts* and its author (ibid.). In July the same year *Ghosts* was staged in Sukhumi. Lado Alexi Meskhishvili was taking part in the performance. On 6.1.1910 a benefit performance was held by the theatre troupe of the Georgian Drama Society in honour of N. Javakhishvili. Lado Aleksi Mekshivhivli was the director of the performance and the performer of the role of Oswald. The role of Fru Alving was performed by Javakhishvili, the role of Engstrand by V. Gunia. *Ghosts* was performed in Chiatura Theatre as well by a circle of amateur actors. The leading part was performed by the guest actress Ivanidze. Even though Ivanidze and Gdzeldze who performed roles of Oswald and Fru Alving played their roles satisfactorily, according to the theatre critics, the provincial theatre failed to do justice to the great play (მელი 1910:15).

Georgian literary critics analysed *Ghosts* mostly in the context of women's rights, juxtaposing brave Nora with Fru Alving who did not dare to follow her heart, and put up with her fate because of social pressure. However, the moral of the articles written by progressive thinkers is the following: one should not betray his/her principles, one should not connect his/her life to an unworthy partner (კალაში 1903). For this reason, we should fight invincibly and without making a retreat, or else we will lose the sense of our lives (სიტყვა 1903). The quoted words belong to Samson Pirkhalava, the critic who in his analysis of *Nora* reproached Georgians for their cowardice and for making compromises. In this case, as with the example of *Nora*, one can suppose that in between the lines Pirkhalava compares the situation of Fru Alving to the conditions of Georgia. Helen chose an unworthy man as her partner and made a compromise instead of fighting. Georgians, similarly to her, put up with being ruled by

Russia. As a result, Helene lost her beloved son Oswald, while Georgia lost the most important thing it had – its independence.

An announcement published in the journal *ობორო* (*arrow*) in 1907 informs us that the theatre troupe of the Georgian Drama Society included among other plays *Nora* and *Elida* (*The Lady from the Sea*) by Ibsen in the proposed repertoire for that year (unknown 1907:4), albeit it is known that the Georgian Drama Society did not restage *Nora* until 1912. According to Amirejibi, the Kutaisi and Tbilisi Theatre troupes were planning to stage *Hedda Gabler*, *The Wild Duck*, *The League of Youth*, *Elida* and *The Master Builder* in 1910-1912. Some claimed that those plays were staged in Batumi between 1904 and 1905 by Lado Meskhishvili's theatre troupe (აბოგუგუბი 1956:13). The building of the Georgian theatre was burnt down in August 1914 and its archives were destroyed. Thus, it is difficult to check the reliability of this particular piece of information. However, it is less likely that those plays by Ibsen were ever staged in Georgia, and if they were, they probably would have met no success, since I could not find their reviews or announcements in Georgian periodicals of the time. Nonetheless, Georgian audiences had an opportunity to see *Hedda Gabler* staged by a Russian theatre troupe led by Mrs Iarovskaia touring Georgian cities in 1908. According to the Georgian printing press, this troupe performed *Doctor Stockmann* (unknown 1908) in Batumi and *Hedda Gabler* in Kutaisi (1908).

To conclude, Ibsen's plays were an important part of the theatre repertoire of Georgia under the Russian Empire. Considering the fact that most of the Georgian theatre directors of the time proclaimed a utilitarian view of art and staged plays that reflected reality, the works of the Norwegian playwright seem to have been relevant in addressing the problems posed in Georgian society. Having studied the literary and theatrical trends of that period led me to the conclusion that the Georgian nation in the era of Russian tutelage was waiting for a hero who would save them from the conquerors. *Doctor Stockmann* (*An Enemy of the People*) gained popularity in Georgia because of the fact that the doctor possessed characteristics that were enough to turn him into the national hero for which the Georgian nation was waiting.

As for *Nora* and *Ghosts*, even though they were mostly analyzed in terms of gender rights, some Georgian progressive thinkers tended to give them a political context. On the one hand, they juxtaposed Nora who dared to rebel against society and fight for her independence with Georgians who put up with Russian tutelage. Fru Alving, the antipode of Nora, on the other

hand, was associated with those Georgians who made a compromise and as a result of their cowardice lost their most valuable asset – their national independence. Considering the fact that not only the plays that bore or could be given a political context such as *An Enemy of the People* and *The Pillars of Society* but also social plays by Ibsen *Nora* and *Ghosts* gained political importance in Georgia, makes it clear that at the turn of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries political situation definitely had an impact on Ibsen's reception in the Georgian theatre.

3 Ibsen's Reception in the Soviet Republic of Georgia

3.1 Ibsen in the Soviet Republic of Georgia's Periodicals

During 1917-1921, when Georgia's independence was restored, a number of important issues emerged connected with the organization of the modern state. For this reason, during the short period of independence, Georgian journalists focused on the poignant questions posed in the modern republic rather than on the plays of the great Norwegian playwright. The situation changed after 1921, when, as a result of the Bolshevik invasion, Georgia was made a part of the Soviet Union. Georgian Ibseniana significantly developed in the Soviet era. Almost all the plays by Ibsen were translated into Georgian in that period; articles on Ibsen's life and works appeared more frequently than ever in the Georgian printing press.

The Soviet Union was based on the assumption that Marxism was "the only true set of doctrines for understanding the world" (Service 2001:2082). Dictatorship of the proletariat was seen as a means of providing a necessary corrective in the society and introducing a new kind of culture in the world (ibid.). In order to maintain and strengthen communist ideology, severe censorship was introduced in Soviet republics, among which was Georgia. Those who dared to utter their voice against the ruling regime were imprisoned, exiled or prosecuted. The communist party controlled the Federations of Writers and everything that was published in the member republics of the USSR (Rayfield 2005:913). In 1922 Glavlit (Main Administration for the Affairs of Literature and Publishing Houses), the first Soviet censorship authority was created (Service 2001:2084). The Georgian Glavlit (მთავრობის) was subordinated to the All-union Glavlit and conformed with its instructions (წერეთელი 2010:198). No work of literature could be published without preliminary permission of the head of Glavlit. As for newspaper and magazine articles, they were controlled by the Party Secretariat (Service 2001:2084).

Plamper lists the five stages of censorship of printed matter in the Soviet Period: 1) 1922-1932, the period when Soviet censorship was mostly concerned with institution-building and with the suppression of private publishing; 2) 1932-1956, considered to be the peak of the Soviet censorship; 3) 1956-1964, following Stalin's death and associated with Khrushchev's thaw; 4) 1964-1985, the period of "stagnation", marked by the strengthening of censorship, and 5) the final stage 1985-1991, associated with Michail Gorbachev's perestroika and glasnost (Plamper 2001:2093-2095). Censorship in the Soviet republic of Georgia mainly

coincides with the stages of censorship in the Soviet Union. However, the major difference between those two is that the death of Stalin did not lead to a 'thaw' in Georgia. In May 1956, Georgian intellectuals protested against de-Stalinization. During the period of 'thaw', in Russia and Ukraine their Republican Writers' Unions were in charge of literary publications, while in Georgia the Party and Ministry maintained their control over publications. The appointment of Eduard Shevardnadze as head of the Georgian Communist Party and Government was followed by a 'thaw' that came to Georgia twenty years later than in Russia (Rayfield 2005:913-915).

The first stage of censorship in Georgia, as in the rest of the Soviet Union, was marked by eliminating alternative public opinion. Arts and literature were controlled by the Party. A certain kind of art: Social Realism was introduced. The major characteristics of Social Realism were praising the proletariat and communist heroes, and exaggerating achievements of socialism compared to the "grievous conditions of capitalism" (Service 2001:2083). Interestingly, Social Realism was not a leading trend only of literary works but also of literary criticism of that time. The first article on Ibsen that appeared in periodicals of the Soviet Republic of Georgia is a good example. Varlam Khurodze, the Georgian writer, publicist and lecturer published his article "Henrik Ibsen" in the journal *მხატვრობა* in March 1928, the hundredth anniversary of the birth of the Norwegian playwright. In an introduction to the article the author claims that even though Ibsen's plays had been translated into many languages, were frequently staged in various theatres and were discussed by prominent literary critics, their popularity had radically decreased in recent years. Khurodze emphasizes that interest towards Ibsen's works achieved its peak in Russia during the first revolution since revolutionary youth and workers sympathised with Ibsenian heroes and heroines, while modern readers did not tend to read Ibsen's works as eagerly as their predecessors. Khurodze not only failed to support his statement with any credible data but chose to address the following question: what is the reason that Ibsenian characters do not interest modern readers? (ხუროძე 1928).

In his article Khurodze mainly focuses on *Brand* and *An Enemy of the People* by Ibsen. He characterizes Ibsenian heroes as people of strong will and iron principles who struggle against a degrading society. However, Khurodze underlines that the society criticized in Ibsen's dramas is the bourgeoisie that has nothing in common with the Soviet proletariat. Quoting Doctor Stockmann's words: "The common people are nothing more than the raw material of

which a people is made [...] isn't there an enormous difference between a well-bred and an ill-bred strain of animals? [...] Take the case of dogs, with which we humans are on such intimate terms [...]. It is puppies of well-bred poodles like that, that showmen train to do incredibly clever tricks — things that a common cur could never learn to do even if it stood on its head” (Ibsen 2010). Khurodze concludes that Ibsen, as a protector of interests of the aristocratic society, is a strong opponent of equality and of democracy (ხუროძე 1928:196).

Khurodze believes that Ibsen's plays are based on the philosophy of Nietzsche and Max Stirner. As for Ibsenian heroes, according to the Georgian publicist, their actions are infused by the idea of the super-human and of individual anarchism. They seem to fight against ruling injustice and decaying social norms. However, they apply anarchist and bourgeois methods of fighting, aiming to maintain their individualism (ibid:198). Ibsenian heroes, according to Khurodze, delude readers by claiming that they are fighting for the common-good. In fact, they are striving to strengthen their own social class and to undermine the proletariat. Khurodze juxtaposes the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels with Ibsen's plays. He proposes that the solution to addressing the problems posed in Ibsen's works is changing bourgeois enterprise by social enterprise (ibid.). In his concluding note, Khurodze claims that Ibsenian heroes fight against the bourgeoisie in order to create a new kind of people, one resembling Nietzschean super-humans, while Marx-Engels' philosophy offers another and more effective solution, i.e. fighting against the bourgeoisie by the unification of the members of the working class (ibid:199). Khurodze states that the reason for Ibsen's “decreasing popularity” is the fact that the Norwegian playwright failed to acknowledge the importance of the proletariat (ibid.).

Even though Khurodze's article is nurtured with communist ideology, it still provides an interesting analysis of Ibsen's works. However, there is often inconsistency between his propositions: on the same page Khurodze calls Ibsen a genius whose works are so interesting that having read the first page of his plays, one cannot stop until one has read the whole work. Later on, Khurodze claims that Ibsen's plays do not interest contemporary readers. There are many details that should be considered when attempting to find out the reason of such inconsistencies. First and foremost, it should be mentioned that many intellectuals who lived in the Soviet era had to betray their principles and take employment with the Soviet State in order to obtain ration cards issued by State authorities that were necessary for physical survival. (Service 2001:2082). Soviet writers and publicists, if they wanted to get their works

published, had to yield half-way and devote one or two poems or articles full of praise of Soviet leaders or quote Marx and Engels in their works. However, each publication was scrutinized by the secretariat of the Communist Party and not only whatever did not fit Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist ideology was banned from publishing, but also the authors who dared to express alternative opinion, were executed. In the Great Terror hundreds of leading artists, film directors and writers were imprisoned, exiled, traumatized or executed for practicing artistic freedom of expression (ibid:2083). Interestingly, even though Varlam Khurodze's article is infused by Marxist ideology, he was one of the many who were shot in 1937-1938.

Konstantine Gamsakhurdia, whom Rayfield considers to be the greatest Georgian modernist in prose (Rayfield 2000:246), published a collection of essays called *ახალი ევროპა* (*New Europe*) in 1928. He devoted one of his essays "ჰენდრიკ იბსენი" to the life and works of Henrik Ibsen. Gamsakhurdia, similarly to Micheil Javakhishvili, was a strong opponent of the Soviet Regime. Gamsakhurdia was imprisoned and exiled for protesting against the Soviet annexation of Georgia (Rayfield 2000:247). In the criminal record of Javakhishvili (1937:10), Gamsakhurdia is named as member of counter-revolutionary and fascist organizations together

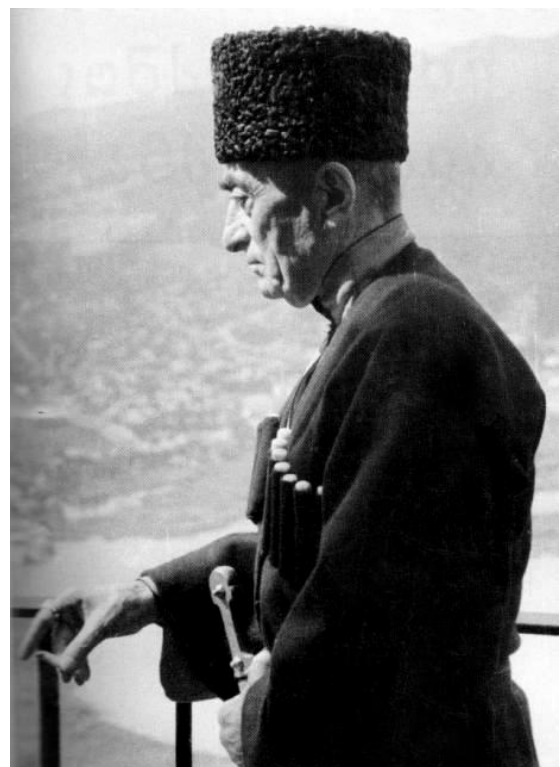


Fig.9. Konstantine Gamsakhurdia

with Javakhsivhili and many other Georgian writers and intellectuals. Javakhishvili was arrested in 1937, forced to sign false "confessions" and finally shot (Rayfield 2000:224). Gamsakhurdia miraculously survived the Great Terror, probably due to the fact that he wrote the novel "მთვარის მოტაცება" ("Abduction of the Moon") that dealt with agricultural collectivization. Lavrenti Beria, the first secretary of the Communist Party of Transcaucasia and then of Georgia in 1931-1938 who like Stalin was of Georgian origin, in his account on Georgian literature acknowledged Gamsakhurdia's attempt at describing socialist activities in the Soviet republic of Georgia. However, he proposed that in order to become a worthy Soviet writer, Gamsakhurdia should get rid of his bourgeois-nationalistic ideas and serve the

Georgian working class by means of his literature (Beria:78). The biography of Ibsen in Gamsakhurdia's article is based on *Einiges über Ibsen : zur Feier ihrer alljährlichen Mai-Festspiele / herausgegeben von der Ibsenvereinigung zu Düsseldorf* 1909, together with monographs by Dumont, Lichtenberger, Shaw, Grossman, etc. Furthermore, having taken his doctorate in Munich, Gamsakhurdia attended performances of Ibsen's plays and was particularly impressed by *Peer Gynt* and *Ghosts* directed by Reindhardt (გამსახურდია 1959:85). Even though the Georgian writer admitted that he had never been particularly interested in Ibsen's works, he still considered Ibsen, together with Nietzsche and L. Tolstoy, to be one of the greatest authors of the nineteenth century (ibid.:84). Furthermore, the Georgian novelist gave an interesting analysis of some of Ibsen's plays, among them *Brand*, characterizing the main hero of the play as an enthusiastic enlightener. Gamsakhurdia believed that people like Brand created culture and changed the history of the world (ibid.:87). Moreover, Gamsakhurdia argued that the first and foremost goal of Ibsen was to cause a revolution in the human mind (ibid.:89).

Even though Gamsakhurdia's article is much more objective than the one written by Khurodze, he still pays tribute to the leading regime. Communists, fearing the power of religion, pursued violent campaigns against not only the Orthodox Church, but also other organized religions and Christian denominations, executing dozens of the clergy and religious leaders (Service 2001:2082). In his analysis Gamsakhurdia focuses on negative aspects of Christianity, concluding that people's attitude towards the church should be changed. Furthermore, he underlines the flaws of capitalism; the degradation of bourgeois society, claiming that the capitalist system ruins people physically and morally (გამსახურდია 1959:89). Nevertheless, in his concluding note the Georgian writer boldly states that the main motif in Ibsen's plays is freedom and that is the pivotal postulate of human existence (ibid.)

The Germans attacked the USSR in June 1941(Rayfield 2012:358). The toll of young Georgian men in the front was enormous (Rayfield 2000:271). During World War II, the Soviet printing press mainly focused on the War issues. As for literature, the patriotic motif was revived. Georgian writers devoted their works to Soviet soldiers and their heroic deeds. Consequently, interest towards Ibsen's works and to anything not dealing with war decreased and almost nothing on Ibsen was printed in Georgian newspapers and journals during 1941-1945. However, after the end of the War, the situation dramatically changed and interest in

the Norwegian playwright increased again. Already in 1946, an article by Alexandra Chkhonia was published in *ლიტერატურა და ხელოვნება (Literature and Art)*.

The largest number of articles on Ibsen appeared in the Georgian printing press in 1956, in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of Ibsen's death. However, most of the newspapers published either an article prepared by the Agency of Telegrams of the Soviet Union (საკდესი) or its slightly changed and signed version. A few newspapers, however, chose to publish translations of Russian writers, literary and theatre critics on Ibsen. For example, in *საბჭოთა აჭარა (Soviet Achara)* a biography of Ibsen and a brief analysis of his works written by L. Andreyev, the Russian writer, appeared. An article by Natalya Krimova, the Russian theatre critic, was published in the newspaper *სიმართლე (The Truth)*.

The article prepared by the Agency of Telegrams of the USSR is an interesting example of the influence of communist ideology on the media: it mainly focuses on the fact that Ibsen criticized the capitalist system. Furthermore, almost one fourth of the entire article is devoted to Ibsen's attitude towards Russia, quoting his opinion on Russian people and literature described by Brandes in his "Henrik Ibsen": "Rusland er et af de faa Lande paa Jorden, hvor Mænd endnu elske Friheden og bringe den Ofre. Derfor staar Landet ogsaa saa højt i Poesi og Kunst. Tænk paa at de har en Digter som Turgeniev, og der er Turgenievér ogsaa blandt deres Malere; vi kjender dem kun ikke, men jeg saa' deres Billeder i Wien"(Brandes 1898:80). In the conclusion of the article there is an attempt to explain the reason for the popularity of Ibsen's dramas in the Soviet Union, arguing that they were accepted by the Soviet readers due to their fundamental ideas and for the struggle for justice represented in them (საკდესი 1956:3).

During the Soviet Era, the major tool that the USSR researchers applied in justifying the value of a literary work was to cite a positive opinion of Marxist theoreticians and / or Russian writers of it. For example, Dr. D. Panchulidze (დ.ფანჭულაძე) in his article "Henrik Ibsen" mentions that Engels had a high opinion of Norwegian literature and considered Ibsen to be its outstanding representative (ფანჭულაძე 1956:3). Moreover, he names scholarly works of G. Plekhanov and A. Lunacharsky, Marxist revolutionaries and theoreticians, where they discuss Ibsen's plays. As for Russian writers, Panchulidze designates A. Chekov, M. Gorky, and A. Blok as those who were impressed by the works of the Norwegian playwright. One

more Georgian publicist, A. Chkhikvadze (ა.ჩხიკვაძე) whose article on Ibsen was published in the newspaper *საბჭოთა აფხაზეთი* (*Soviet Apkhazia*), refers to the German Marxist activist and theorist Clara Zetkin who argued that Ibsen's plays were important for the working class. According to Zetkin, the proletariat, in order to keep on fighting and gain victory, needed self-confident people who could make a sacrifice, similarly to Ibsen's heroes (ჩხიკვაძე 1956).

The most valuable article commemorating the 50th anniversary of Ibsen's death is "Henrik Ibsen on the Georgian Stage" by Tamar Amirejibi that appeared in *საბჭოთა ხელოვნება* (*Soviet Art*). Even though Amirejibi starts her article with Engels' quotation on Ibsen's plays and suggests that the transfer of a capitalist society into socialism is the key to addressing problems portrayed in many of Ibsen's plays (ამირეჯიბი 1956:12), her article is still distinguished: Amirejibi not only presents a biography and an analysis of the major works of Ibsen but also refers to the reception of the great Norwegian playwright in Georgia. "Henrik Ibsen on the Georgian Stage" gives a brief history of staging Ibsen's plays in Georgian theatres from the end of the nineteenth century to the 1950s. Moreover, Amirejibi describes how Ibsen's works were accepted by Georgian audiences and theatre critics, citing the most interesting theatre reviews and articles published in Georgian periodicals.

In 1957, ჰენრიკ იბსენი (Henrik Ibsen), the first and the only monograph on Ibsen so far in Georgian was published. The author of the monograph is Akaki Gelovani (აკაკი გელოვანი), the Georgian writer and translator whose translations of the works of Ibsen, Goethe, Heine, Zweig and Laxness into Georgian have maintained their popularity until now. Gelovani divides his book into various chapters. In the first chapter called "The Lion of Dramatic Art", he discusses the importance of Ibsen's works in the development of world literature. Gelovani considers Ibsen to be one of the greatest playwrights of all times. The main characteristics of Ibsen's arts, according to him, are irony, sharp criticism of contemporary reality, and the struggle for justice. In the two following chapters Gelovani describes the youth of Ibsen and his life abroad. Later the author discusses some of Ibsen's poems. The last chapter is devoted to Ibsen and the Georgian theatre, where Gelovani gives a brief description of when and where Ibsen's plays were staged in Georgia and how they were received by the Georgian audience (გელოვანი 1957), mostly basing his facts on the data presented in Amirejibi's article. Gelovani's monograph is important for the development of Georgian Ibseniana, since

he is the first scholar who analyzed Ibsen's poetry and his works that were less known to the Georgian readers, as *Catiline*, *Lady Inger of Oestraat*, *The Feast at Solhaug*, *The Vikings at Helgeland*, *Love's Comedy* and *Emperor and the Galilean*.

Gelovani's monograph was published by საქართველოს სსრ პოლიტიკური და მეცნიერული ცოდნის გამავრცელებელი საზოგადოება (Georgian USSR Society for Spreading Political and Academic Knowledge). Obviously, the society that was first and foremost established for spreading political knowledge (i.e. communist ideology) among Georgians would not publish anything that was not imbued with Soviet propaganda. Like Khurodze, Gelovani argues that the reason for the tragic fate of Ibsen's heroes is the fact that they oppose society instead of uniting their powers and fighting together: Ibsen lived in an era when the revolutionary spirit of the social proletariat was not fully-fledged. For this reason, he believed that the society did not protect but hindered the development of an individual (გელოვანი 1957:7). Ibsenian characters followed the way of anarchism and individualism, and, therefore, they failed to achieve the freedom for which they were striving, claims Gelovani (ibid.:4). Furthermore, juxtaposing *Doctor Stockmann* with *The Misanthrope* by Molière, Gelovani proposes that even though the major difference between those two characters is the fact that the first is a moralist while the latter is a rebel, they still have something in common, namely aristocratic ideals (ibid.:27). The Georgian writer agrees with Plekhanov and considers Stockmann's speech on the superiority of noblemen to the common people to be merely a reactionary blurb full of irony that should not be taken literary (ibid.). In order to justify the popularity of *An Enemy of the People* in Georgia, Gelovani suggests that the Georgian audience was not impressed by Stockmann's anti-democratic exaggerations but by his rebellious nature (ibid.:29). Quoting Marx and Engels *Über Kunst und Literatur* (Marx, Engels 1853), Gelovani believes that Ibsen's main achievement is the fact that he portrayed, even though a bourgeois, an extremely (*himmelweit*) different world from the German reality (ibid.:31).

Like the authors of the articles on Ibsen published in Georgian periodicals in 1950s, Gelovani focuses on the interest of Ibsen in Russian society and culture. He quotes Ibsen's positive comment on Russians, Russian art and poetry, described in the book of Brandes on Henrik Ibsen, together with Ibsen's letter published in *Morgenbladet* in August 1873 where the Norwegian playwrights shares his opinion with the readers on the exhibition held in Vienna,

being especially impressed by paintings of Russian artists: “I refer, in the first instance, to the prevalent belief that the Slavonic race is taking little or no part in the great common work of civilisation. The acquaintance which Europe has made during these last years with the literature of Russia should have invalidated such a theory, but, supposing this not to have yet happened, I am certain that the Vienna Exhibition will create a very different and more correct impression. It teaches us that in every domain of pictorial art, Russia comes up to the highest standard of the period [...]. Russia has a school of painting equal to that of Germany, France, or any other country”(Ibsen 2012:261). However, Gelovani makes a baseless assumption, claiming that “Ibsen was inspired by not only Russian art and culture but also by the brave, almost communist ideas of the sons of Russia” (გელოვანი 1957:20). Moreover, considering the contents of “Song of Greeting to Sweden”, Gelovani suggests that Ibsen was preaching ‘fraternity of peoples’, a concept of Marxist social class theory that was later turned into a Soviet motto.

Before Gelovani’s monograph, Georgian literary or theatre critics tended to give a brief overall description of Ibsen’s works rather than focusing on details. Gelovani was the first Georgian author who attempted to analyze Ibsen’s dramas systematically. Shortly after Gelovani’s monograph, three more works: “Henrik Ibsen keeps fighting” by Otar Jinoria, “Peer Gynt by Ibsen” by Malkhaz Radiani and introduction and comments by Davit Lashkaradze to Georgian translations of Ibsen’s plays appeared that gave more detailed analyses of Ibsen’s plays. The first article was published in *საბჭოთა ხელოვნება* (*Soviet Art*) in 1960. The author of the article, Otar Jinoria, starts with a brief history of translating Ibsen into Georgian and performing his plays on the Georgian stage. Later, he refers to the article by Varlam Khurodze (1927), arguing that Khurodze’s statement regarding decreasing interest towards the works of the Norwegian playwright in Georgia is misleading. In order to support his proposition and justify the importance of Ibsen’s plays, Jinoria divides them into three groups and chronologically analyses them. As for the selection of materials, Jinoria, among other works of Ibsen discusses both his poems and earlier plays (ჯინორია 1960). Nevertheless, he mainly focuses on *Brand* and *Peer Gynt*. Jinoria is not the only Georgian literary critic who was particularly impressed by *Brand*. The uncompromising pastor seems to have been the favourite of the Soviet critics. Brand is a titanic hero whose deeds are beyond human abilities, whose courage does not have any limits, who can sacrifice everything for his principles and, above all, who struggles against the old God. Considering the religious politics

in the USSR and the oppression of organized religion and the preaching of atheism, a bold pastor aiming to bury the old God seems to have aroused associations with atheists tearing down churches and monasteries. Consequently, *Brand* was accepted by the communist ideology, albeit its main hero was criticized for being an individualist rather than a communist.

“Peer Gynt by Ibsen” written by Malkhaz Radiani represents one of the first attempts of analyzing a separate work by Ibsen rather than his entire oeuvre. Comparing *Peer Gynt* to *Brand*, Radiani claims that even though the same problems are posed in those two plays, they still radically differ from each other. Radiani considers *Brand* to be a tragic, albeit a positive hero possessing the characteristics of a paragon (რადიანი 1980:75). As for Peer Gynt, he is the antithesis of Brand who, unlike the brave pastor, does not sacrifice his interests to others, but on the contrary, sacrifices others to his own welfare. Radiani mainly focuses on the fourth act of the play, where Peer Gynt appears as a businessman launching enterprises in Morocco and being involved in unethical transactions, such as trading slaves. Radiani argues that the fourth act of the play is particularly interesting because of the fact that in it Ibsen portrays the flaws of capitalism represented by, among others, Mr Cotton and von Eberkopf (ibid.:76). Interestingly, Radiani devotes a part of his article to the National movement of Norway and the importance of restoring the Norwegian language. By focusing on this latter issue, Radiani obviously draws parallels with the demonstration held by thousands of Georgians on April 14, 1978, demanding that the Georgian language should maintain the status of State language (Suny 2005).

In 1974, a translation of Ibsen’s dramas into Georgian was published, together with an introduction and comments of Davit Lashkaradze. In his introduction Lashkaradze’s gives a brief overview of Ibsen’s reception in Georgia, listing translations of Ibsen’s works into Georgian and the opinion of major Georgian literary critics on the writer and his works. Furthermore, in his comments on Ibsen’s plays, Lashkaradze gives a history of Ibsen’s plays not only in Europe and Russia, but also in Georgia. Lashkaradze calls Ibsen “the Norwegian Shakespeare” who depicted lives of authentic people in his plays (ლაშქარაძე 1974:5). Based on the opinion of Engels on Ibsen’s works, the Georgian critic differentiates modern Norwegians, the descendants of Norwegian peasants who had never been serfs to the decaying bourgeoisie society of the rest of Europe. Lashkaradze proposes that since Norway was isolated from other European countries because of its geographical and natural

conditions, it was not fully corrupted by the capitalist system. That is the reason why Ibsenian heroes managed to maintain their morality and strong will (ibid). As for Doctor Stockmann, Lashkaradze is impressed by his fight against bourgeois democracy, albeit disapproving the doctor's idea on the "majority being always wrong" (ლაშქარაძე 1974:19). However, Lashkaradze disagrees with Khurodze and claims that the Ibsenian nobility that Stockman was preaching has nothing to do with the social contents of this word, quoting Ibsen's speech to the workingmen of Trondheim on June 14, 1885:

An element of nobility must enter into our national life, our administration, our representative bodies, and our press. Of course I am not thinking of a nobility of birth, nor of that of wealth, nor of that of knowledge, neither of that of ability or talent. I am thinking of a nobility of character, of a nobility of will and spirit. Nothing else can make us free. This nobility that I hope will be granted to our nation will come to us from two sources. It will come to us from two groups that have not as yet been irreparably harmed by party pressure. It will come to us from our women and from our workingmen (Ibsen 1965:249).

To conclude, during the Soviet era communist ideology had a strong impact on Ibsen's reception in Georgian literary criticism. The major part of the data I have studied turned out to be nurtured by communist propaganda. Analyses of Ibsen's oeuvre by Soviet Georgian researchers resemble each other since they all comprise methods approved by the Communist Party Secretariat, namely quoting communist leaders and the works of Marx-Engels philosophers and criticizing Ibsen's heroes for their anti-communist ideas. Furthermore, almost all Georgian literary critics agree that introducing the socialist system is the key to addressing problems posed in the plays of the great Norwegian playwright. However, taking into consideration the political position and views of some of the authors makes me think that the propositions they made in their articles were just means of disguising their authentic ideas and getting their works published.

Considering that the censorship in the USSR was much stricter than in the Russian Empire, the biography of Ibsen and analyses of his works were no longer used for directly expressing protest against the political regime in the USSR. Nevertheless, notwithstanding the fact that the Soviet censorship authorities carefully scrutinized everything published in the USSR, some of the authors still managed to allude to the existing parallels between Ibsen's works and the Soviet reality as the oppression of individual freedom and corrupted officials. The most discussed plays of Ibsen of that time seem to be *Brand* and *An Enemy of the People*, characterizing Brand as a positive hero, probably due to the fact that like the atheists he dared

to speak up against God, and giving Doctor Stockmann the label of a negative hero because of his bias in favour of the nobility. As for *A Doll's House* and *Ghosts*, they were mainly discussed in the context of portraying the oppressed position of women in bourgeois society. Considering that Georgia has a long history of gender equality and, furthermore, the rights of women were at least formally protected in the USSR, there was no dispute among the researchers of the time about Nora's decision to abandon her family. Soviet Georgian critics reached a consensus and concluded that Nora would have shared the fate of Fru Alving had she stayed with her children. All in all, Ibsen's reception in the periodicals of the Soviet Republic of Georgia is an interesting, although unfortunate example of how leading regimes and ideologies can have unlimited influence on literary criticism by imposing censorship on writers, literary critics, artists and progressive thinkers.

3.2 Ibsen translations in the Soviet Republic of Georgia

Translations of Ibsen's plays first appeared in the Soviet Georgian periodicals in the 1950s, more than forty years after the work of the Norwegian playwright, namely *The Wild Duck* was last published in Georgia under the Russian Empire. After the October revolution, the main agenda of the Soviet officials was introducing a different social order in the Soviet republics and spreading the communist ideology and values among them. Therefore, it is not surprising that in the era when social-realism was the leading trend of literature, the works of Ibsen focusing on subjects not related to question that were topical during the Soviet Union, as the role of the proletariat and communist values, did not attract the attention of Georgian translators. However, in the 1950s, alongside with commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the playwright, interest towards Ibsen's oeuvre revived in Georgia. In 1958 მოჩვენებანი (*Ghosts*) and ჰედა გაბლერი (*Hedda Gabler*) translated by Akaki Gelovani were published as a book. After twenty years, one more book – Henrik Ibsen's dramas translated into Georgian, consisting of *Brand* translated by V. Betsukeli, *Peer Gynt*, *Ghosts*, *An Enemy of The People* and *Hedda Gabler* translated by Akaki Gelovani, *Nora* or *A Doll's House* translated by Eliso Betsukeli, with an introductory note and remarks by D. Lashkaradze was published by the editorial house საბჭოთა საქართველო (*Soviet Georgia*).

In 1988, Akaki Gelovani and Vakhtang Betsukeli translated and published *Catiline* and *The Master Builder*.

Retranslations of Ibsen's plays were well received by Georgian readers and literary critics. In 1959 a translation review was published in საბჭოთა აჭარა (*Soviet Achara*). The author of the article, S.Turnava claimed that translations of A. Gelovani sounded melodic in Georgian, even though the translator preserved

Ibsen's style of writing in his

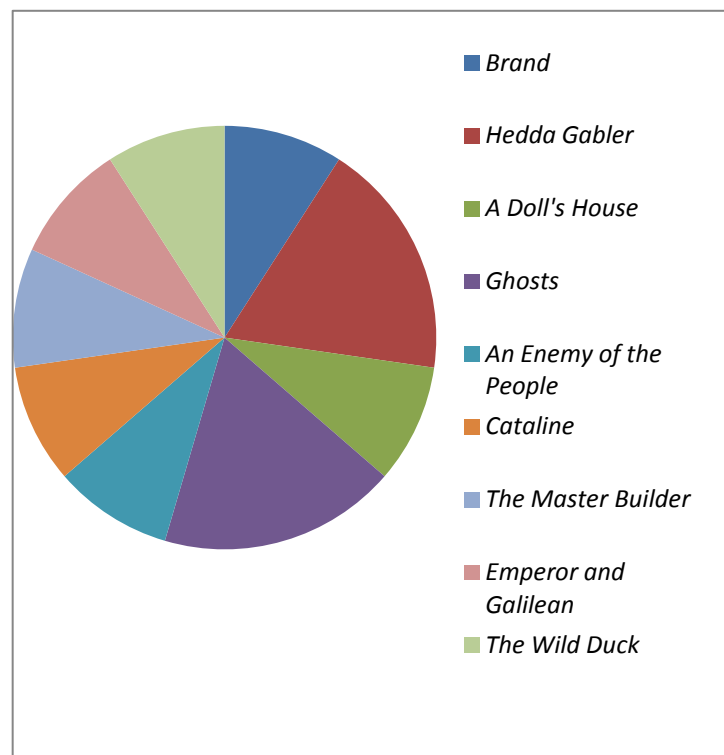


Fig. 10. Chart over the relative proportions of translations of Ibsen's plays.

translations. Furthermore, according to Turnava, Gelovani successfully relayed idiomatic expressions into Georgian. The only criticism was the fact that Engstrand's language is over-provincialized (თურნავა 1959). However, it seems that the translator took this comment into consideration and in the next edition of the translation changed the weak parts Turnava had pointed out. In the late 1980s, translations of Ibsen's dramas made by an outstanding Georgian translator, Bachana Bregvadze, appeared in Georgian periodicals. In 1988 the first translation of *Emperor and Galilean* was published in *საუნჯე*, followed by the retranslation of *The Wild Duck*, published in *საბჭოთა ხელოვნება (Soviet Art)*.

The translations of Ibsen's plays into Georgian during the Soviet Union were not relayed only through Russian. On the cover page of the book of Ibsen's dramas including *Catiline* and *The Master Builder* one can read that those plays were relayed into Georgian through German (იბსენი, გელოვანი et al. 1988). Even though translations of Bachana Bregvadze do not indicate which languages he was translating from, in a telephone interview, the translator told me that when relaying the works of the Norwegian playwright into Georgian, he used Russian and French translations (Bregvadze 2012). Everyone who translated Ibsen's plays into Georgian during the Soviet Union were professional translators. Akaki Gelovani and Vakhtang Betsukeli mostly translated German literature into Georgian, namely works of Goethe, Heine, Zweig and Schiller. It seems that Betsukeli was particularly interested in Norwegian literature, since besides Ibsen's works he translated *Mysteries* by Knut Hamsun. As for Bachana Bregvadze, he is one of the best known literary translators in Georgia whose translations of the works of Plato, Dante, Cervantes and Marcus Aurelius are highly appreciated by both Georgian readers and translation critics.

Donald Rayfield in his article "Censorship in Georgia" claims that the Russian "thaw" came to Georgia twenty years later, in the 1970s. In 1973, Shevardnadze was appointed as head of the Georgian party and Government. Shevardnadze, unlike his predecessors, was rather liberal and even supported the works of some progressive Georgian authors of the time to get past censors (Rayfield 2005). As a result of the "thaw", translating European literature into Georgian became more common. Most of the new translations were published in a bimonthly journal *საუნჯე (Treasure)*. The Censorship machine was gradually weakened and finally was brought to a halt in 1989, two years before Georgia became one of the first Soviet republics to declare its independence (ibid.). Bachana Bregvadze who started translating

Ibsen's works in the 1980s and continued after the declaration of independence, stated that his translations were never censored by the Soviet officials, probably due to the fact that he was a well-established and respected translator. However, as translations of historical dramas by Ibsen such as *Catiline* and *Emperor and Galilean* first appeared in Georgia in the late 1980s proves that it was due to the “thaw” that translating and publishing works that were formerly forbidden became possible in Georgia.

Having studied the Georgian translation of *An Enemy of the people* published in 1974, I discovered that the “misunderstandings” regarding the concept of freedom that were frequent in Georgian translations made during the Russian tutelage are absent in Gelovani's translation. For example, Doctor Stockmann's promise to his sons: “men jeg vil få jer til at bli' fri, fornemme mænd” (HIS 7:735), was translated as “და ვეცდები თავისუფლების მოყვარული და პატიოსანი ვაჟკაცები გამოგიყვანოთ” (იბსენი 1903:82) [I will try to make you freedom-loving and honest men] by Ivane Polumordvinov, was relayed by Gelovani as “მე თქვენ ნამდვილ, თავისუფალ, მოწინავე ადამიანებად უნდა გაქციოთ” (იბსენი and გელოვანი 1974:852) [I am going to make you real, free, forward men]. Even though this translation is relatively close to the original, Gelovani's version still sounds like a communist motto. The problem with the translation is that “fornemme mænd”, translated as “noble-minded men” into English by Eleanor Marx-Aveling (Ibsen and Marx-Aveling 2013), is translated by Gelovani as “მოწინავე” [forward]. “Forward” was an epithet that was used in the Soviet periodicals for describing successful Soviet citizens. Articles on “forward collective farmers”, “forward dairymaids” and “forward tea collectors” were daily published in the Soviet printing press. For this reason, the word “forward” awakes associations with the Soviet proletariat and gives a different subtext to the translated text.

The part of the original where Doctor Stockmann claims: “jeg vil ha' ret til at se mine gutter I øjnene, når de engang blir voksne fri mænd” (HIS 7:607), [I want to have the right to look into my sons' eyes when they are grown free men] is relayed by Gelovani as “მე მიზნდა მოვიპოვო უფლება, რომ გაბედულად შევხედო თვალებში ჩემს პატარებს, როცა ისინი გაიზრდებიან და პატიოსანი, თავისუფალი ადამიანები გახდებიან” (იბსენი and გელოვანი 1974:787-788) [I want to obtain the right to boldly look into the eyes of my youngsters when they grow up and become honest, free people]. As one can see, unlike the translation made by Polumordvinov in the early 1900s, where the textual information was

altered that led to changing the conceptual information, Gelovani's translation has correctly translated the textual information given in the original and therefore managed to maintain the conceptual information.

Jauss proposes that the previous experience of people has an inevitable influence on their understanding of new literary works. I believe that this idea can be extended to translation. The experience of the translator can have an impact on how he interprets and translates this or that part of the original. For example, the comment of people on Doctor Stockmann's speech: "Hoho, er ikke vi folket? Er det bare de fornemme, som skal styre!" (Ibsen 1974:824) [Oho! –so we are not the people. Or only the maseters are useful for governing?]. Furthermore, the paragraph where Doctor Stockmann states: "Men slig går det altid, så længe det almueagtige sidder i kroppen på en, og så længe en ikke har arbejdet sig ud til åndelig fornemhed" (Ibsen 2008) translated as "But that is always the way, as long as a man retains the traces of common origin and has not worked his way up to intellectual distinction" by Farquharson Sharp (Ibsen 2010), is relayed as "მაგრამ ასე მოსდით ყოველთვის მათ, ვის ძაღვებშია ცხელი სისხლი და ვისთვისაც გონიერება არ არის ღრმად" (იბსენი and გელოვანი 1974:826) [but that always happens to those in whose veins there is more blood of peasants and those who have not transformed themselves into spiritual intellectual yet]. I believe that the reason why Gelovani chose to translate "fornemme" as masters and "almueagtige sidder" as "peasant blood" was that his "horizons of expectations" encompassed the social reality of Georgia in the second part of the nineteenth century, when the peasants, the former serfs who were granted liberation but no property, still remained dependent on their masters. Juxtaposing masters with peasantry in Georgian translation causes Georgian readers to draw parallels between Ibsen's drama and the social hierarchy existing in Georgia before the Soviet annexation.

There is one more detail that I find interesting in Gelovani's translations. Even though the translator does not tend to "Georgianize" professions or the names of the characters as „kamerherre Alving“ is translated as „კამერჰერი ალვინგი“ [Chamberlain Alving],

”byfogd Peter Stockmann” is relayed as „ბურგომისტრი პეტერ სტოკმანი“ [burgomaster Peter Stokmann], in the list of characters of the Georgian translation of ”Ghosts”, Pastor Manders is relayed as „მოდღვარი მანდერსი“ [priest/father Manders] (იბსენი and გელოვანი 1974:670). Moreover, other characters of the play often address the pastor as ”priest/father Manders”. During the Soviet era atheism was preached, churches were closed, clergymen were arrested and those who remained religious were mocked. Clergymen were looked as the negative power hindering the progress of Soviet citizens. Many Soviet writers mocked priests in their works and portrayed them as corrupt and egoistic. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Ibsenian pastor whose main concerns were his own reputation rather than the welfare of his parish; who interfered with the lives of others, showed them the wrong way and forced them to put up with the ruling injustice, was associated by the Georgian translator with the Orthodox clergymen who were social and political outcasts during the Soviet era.

To conclude, all in all nine translations of Ibsen’s plays were published in the Soviet Republic of Georgia, although some of them were translated more than once. All translations were made by professional translators. Unlike their predecessors who relayed the plays of the Norwegian playwright during the Russian tutelage, Soviet Georgian translators did not choose to translate Ibsen’s works for political purposes but rather for their literary value. Interestingly, alongside with the realistic dramas of Ibsen, also the symbolic and historical dramas of the Norwegian playwright attracted the attention of Georgian translators. However, the historical dramas only appeared after the Russian “thaw” arrived in Georgia in the 1970s. Having compared the Soviet Georgian translations of Ibsen’s dramas to the original led me to the conclusion that they were much more close to the original than their predecessors. Furthermore, I could not trace any cases of censorship or ideological changes in those translations. However, in a number of examples that I have chosen for examples, one can see that the “horizons of expectations” of the translator had an impact on his understanding and in the translating of some parts of the original that led to altering or introducing new subtextual information in the translation.

3.3 Ibsen on the Stage of the Soviet Republic of Georgia

During the first decade of the Soviet annexation Ibsen's plays were not performed on the Georgian stage. However, an outstanding Georgian theatre director, Konstantine Marjanishvili (Marjanov), who worked in Russia for twenty five years, among other plays staged Ibsen's works in the theatres of Perm, Riga, Odesa, Kiev and Moscow (ჯორჯოს 2010), in 1931 presented *The Master Builder* in the Korsh Theatre. The stage designer of the performance was Petre Otskheli, a Georgian painter. The music was composed by a Georgian, T.Vakhvakhishvili. The same year the Korsh Theatre toured Georgia, presenting *The Master Builder*. A theatre review of the performance was published in *The Communist* by a Georgian publicist, B. Gordeziani, using the pseudonym ბ.გ. (B.G). Even though the author praised Petre Otskheli's sets and costume designs, he criticized the director for choosing to stage *The Master Builder*, claiming that this play by a playwright who did not acknowledge the necessity of a social class battle was not relevant to the Soviet ideology and, therefore, did not fit the purpose of the Soviet theatre.

Furthermore, B.G. posing the question: should classics be staged in Soviet theatres, concluded that the classic repertoire should be chosen very attentively and in the case of staging such plays, minimal changes should be made by theatre directors. As for *The Master Builder*, B.G. claimed that



Fig. 11. A Petre Otskheli costume



Fig. 12. A Petre Otskheli stage design

the changes that Marjanishvili had made were unacceptable. According to the reviewer, the director modernized the play. Moreover, he significantly altered the concept of the play, for example justifying Solness's behaviour by giving him an aim (ბ.გ. 1931). Moreover, Marjanishvili's Hilde and Ragnar differed from Ibsenian characters. Hilde resembled a young member of the Komsomol, while Ragnar was portrayed as a worker dreaming of collective labour. Such transformations, according to B.G., were nothing but falsehoods, considering that Ibsen was a strong opponent of the proletariat (ibid.). The reviewer ended his article by proposing that such talented theatre directors as Marjanishvili should not use their time and energy staging such unimportant plays as *The Master Builder* (ibid.).

The censorship organization of the USSR, Glavlit created in 1922 (Service 2001), first and foremost aimed to impose orthodoxy in the arts, scrupulously controlling literature and drama. In 1933 the People's Commissariat for Education (განათლების სახალხო კომისარიატი) of Georgia published a brochure called "სარეპერტუარო მაჩვენებელი" ("Repertoire Indicator"). In an introduction to the brochure, the head of the Georgian Glavlit claimed that many plays staged in Georgian theatres posed a threat to the Soviet ideology and lacked any artistic value (კიკნაძე 2003:641). The aim of the "Repertoire Indicator" was to ban the staging of such plays. The brochure consisted of two parts: the dramatic repertoire, divided into original plays and translations of foreign plays, and the music repertoire. Every play, song and orchestral piece was given a code. Code A indicated that the ideological and artistic value of the play was acceptable. Code B, C, and D (ბ,გ,დ in Georgian) indicated that the work was not acceptable for the Soviet ideology and, even though staging or performing it was not forbidden, it was not recommended either (კიკნაძე 2003:642), while აკრძ., an abbreviation of the word forbidden, meant that performing a work that was given this code was banned from the Soviet Stage.

"Repertoire Indicator" published in 1933 included nine plays by Ibsen, all in all eleven translations (two translations of *Pillars of Society* and *An Enemy of the People*): გარეული იხვი (*The Wild Duck*), translated by Chikvinidze, ელიდა, ანუ ქალი ზღვიდან (*The Lady from the Sea*) translated by G.Abakelia, მოჩვენებანი (*Ghosts*) translated by Ia Ekaladze, ხალხის მტერი, ანუ ექიმი შტოკმანი (*An Enemy of the People*) translations by I. Polumordvinov and V.Tkhavadze, საზოგადოების დედაბოძნი (*Pillars of Society*)

translated by A. Imedashvili, საზოგადოების ბურჯნი (*Pillars of Society*) translated by G. Abakelia, ნორა (*A Doll's House*) translated by A. Tsagareli, ჯონგაბრიელ ბორკმან (*John Gabriel Borkman*) and გედდა გაბლერი (*Hedda Gabler*) translated by K. Mekshi, ბრანდი (*Brand*) translated by K. Kandelaki, and ჩრდილოეთის გმირნი (*The Vikings at Helgeland*) translated by I. Gedevanishvili (მოვლიტი 1933:15). *A Doll's House* was the only play by Ibsen that was given code A, i.e. was considered to be acceptable for the Soviet ideology, probably due to the fact that in the Soviet Union women's rights were at least theoretically advocated, while the remaining plays were marked with ბ (B) and გ (C), i.e. the staging of them was not forbidden; however, it was not recommended. The reason why some of the historical and symbolic plays by Ibsen were not included in the list could be explained by the fact that their translations either did not exist or were banned in early Soviet years.

The late 1930s were crucial for the Georgian nation, culture and literature. As a result of the Great Terror in the Soviet Union in 1937-1938, millions of people were arrested and hundreds of thousands were executed. In Georgia, more than ten thousand people were shot and, all in all, about 250.000 were repressed (კიკნაძე 2009:5). Most of the repressed belonged to the intellectual elite of the country, such as famous writers, scholars and artists. Vasil Kiknadze, a Georgian theatre scholar, researched the fate of the Georgian theatre workers during the Great Terror and in his book წამებულო რაინდები (*Martyred Knights*) and დაკარგული თეატრი (*Lost Theatre*) described how more than twenty outstanding Georgian theatre directors, actors, stage designers, etc. were shot or

exiled by Soviet officials. Among those who were shot were Alexander Akhmeteli, one of the greatest Georgian theatre directors; Petre Otskheli, a Georgian painter and stage designer who

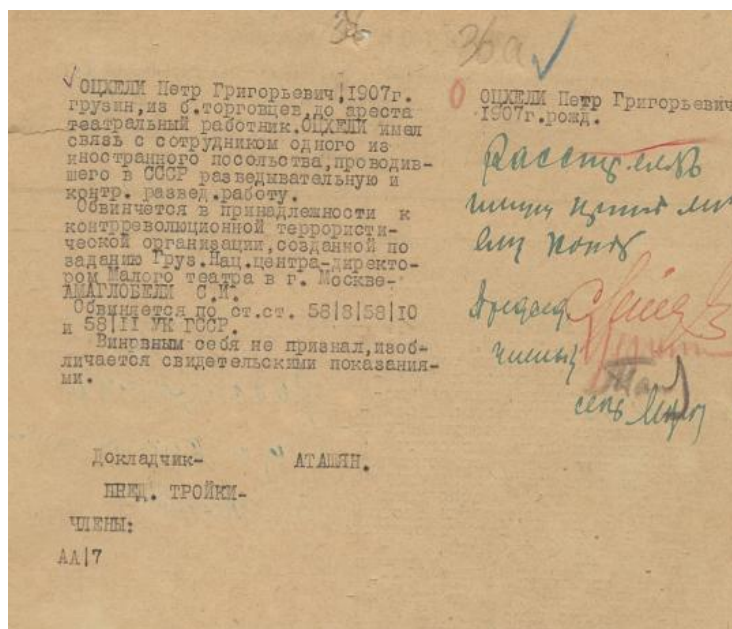


Fig. 13. Order to shoot Petre Otskheli

created the stage design of *The Master Builder* at Korsh Theatre; actors V. Abashidze, Elguja Lortkipanidze, Ia Kantaria, Ivane Laghidze and theatre critic S. Amaglobeli (კიკნაძე 2009:7). The repertoire of Georgian theatres that had been scrupulously censored since the early 1930s, was even more strictly controlled during and after the Great Terror. Not only performances dealing with national values or struggle for liberation were banned, but also anything that came into conflict with the ruling ideology. Alexander Akhmeteli, a Georgian actor before his arrest, complained: "I am a free artist and I should be allowed to think freely. However, the government does not allow me to do so". (კიკნაძე 2009:139). Articles published in the Soviet periodicals criticized theatres if their repertoire did not serve the aim of strengthening the Soviet mentality (გოგეიშვილი 1935). In 1939-1940 Georgian Glavlit issued a new alphabetical list of the plays that were allowed to be staged in Georgian theatres, consisting of original plays and translations. Interestingly, the number of plays by Ibsen that were allowed on the Georgian stage significantly decreased in those years. In brochure number 1 published in 1939, the only play by Ibsen that was included in the list of allowed plays on the Georgian stage was *Ghosts*, translated by G.Nutsubidze (1939:6), while the second volume published in 1940 consisted in total 119 Georgian and foreign plays, among which was *The Wild Duck* by Ibsen, translated also by G.Nutsubidze (1940:2).

Ghosts seems to have been the most staged play by Ibsen in the Soviet Republic of Georgia, performed in the major as well as in the minor theatres of the country, both in the capital and in the regions. In 1937 The Sanitary Culture Theatre of Tbilisi (თბილისის სანიტარული კულტურის თეატრი) presented the play. Nino Chkheidze, the first Georgian Nora, performed the role of Fru Alving in a performance directed by Shalva Agsabadze. According to theatre critics, the director did not make any major changes in the plot of the play, neither did he modernize it, but realistically portrayed the moral and physical degradation of a bourgeois family (ბ. 1937). On December 19, 1937, a public discussion of the performance was arranged. Georgian writers, playwrights, theatre critics, representatives of various theatres, organizations and enterprises attended the event. After the performance, the audience concluded that *Ghosts* was one of the highest achievements of the theatre (1937). However, theatre reviews of the performance published in the newspaper *The Communist* make it obvious that the main essence of the play by Ibsen was misinterpreted. A theatre review published by a journalist writing under the pseudonym შ.ბ. (S.B), describes *Ghosts* as a play revealing the immorality of the bourgeois society, mainly focusing on hereditary syphilis.

”Even though syphilis is never mentioned in the performance, the whole play deals with the destruction power of this terrible illness,” claims S.B, concluding that he finds it relevant that his ”artistically remarkable and thematically beneficial” play was staged in the Sanitary Culture theatre. According to him, the theatre audience, in addition to watching a good performance, received valuable information related to public health (ბ. 1937).

In 1941 სიღნაღის საკოლმეურნეო თეატრი Signagi Collective Farm Theatre presented *Ghosts*. Similarly to the performance held in the Sanitary Culture Theatre in Tbilisi, the Signagi Collective Farm Theatre also seems to have chosen this play for deductive reasons. Theatre reviews published of this performance claimed that “the main value of the play is its deductive character, showing the audience what baneful results can be caused by an immoral life” (ბეჟაშვილი and შალვაშვილი 1941:4), concluding that the lifestyle of the bourgeoisie class had destroyed the lives of many young people and that Oswald was one of the victims of the capitalist system (ibid.).

During the Second World War, Ibsen’s works were not staged in Georgian theatres, since in this period priority was given to heroic plays, encouraging Soviet citizens to serve their homeland. The plays of the Norwegian playwright re-appeared on the Georgian stage only in 1961. However, in 1954 Georgian audiences were given an opportunity to attend *Peer Gynt* in the Zakaria Paliashvili Opera and Ballet Theatre and in the Tbilisi Conservatoire, directed by Vsevolod Nikolayevich Aksenov, a Soviet actor and a master of artistic expression. Aksenov created musical compositions based on *Peer Gynt* by Ibsen and music by Grieg. According to a review written by L. Markozov in *The Communist*, the performance gained great success in Tbilisi (ლ.მარკოზოვი 1954:3). In 1964, The Moscow Maly Theatre visited Tbilisi, performing *Ghosts*. According to Vaso Godziashvili, a well-known Georgian writer and Vasil Kiknadze, a theatre scholar, even though the director followed the plot closely, the performance was still interesting and the acting of the performers of the leading characters was remarkable. (გოძიაშვილი and კიკნაძე 1964).

On October 17, 1967 the premiere of *Ghosts*, directed by M.Imedadze (მ.იმედაძე) was held at ლადო მესხიშვილის სახელობის ქუთაისის სახელმწიფო თეატრი (The Lado Meskhishvili Kutaisi Theatre). D. Khurtsidze, in his review published in the newspaper *Kutaisi*, after giving a short introduction on Ibsen’s play, mainly concentrated on Pastor

Manders (called Priest Manders in the performance), performed by G. Natsvlishvili, describing him as a representative of an old epoch, whose clear vision was clouded by religious superstitions. According to Khurtsidze, the priest who was loyal to the old regime, fearing God and illogical rules, was responsible for the tragic fate of Fru Alving (ხურციძე 1968). In 1971 *Ghosts* was staged also in the Sukhumi Theatre named after S. Chanba (ტრაპაიძე 1971).

Anette Storli Andersen and Jon Nygaard, in their article "Narod Sobie - Theatre as the Nation in Itself" propose that "emotions in the theatre, and not written language or other media, have anticipated and prepared radical national and political changes," giving examples of Norway before 1814, Poland in 1976, and Lithuania in 1989 (Andersen and Nygaard 2009:42). Furthermore, in his 1987 article, Nygaard argues that the Georgian theatre served the same purpose in the last decade of the Soviet Union. Analyzing some of the plays shown in Moscow during a festival in 1986-1987, Nygaard focuses on *King Lear* presented by the Rustaveli theatre of Georgia, directed by Robert Sturua, that opened the festival. Describing this performance as "one of the strongest performances ever staged" (Nygaard 1987:29), Nygaard draws parallels between the double meaning of the finale of the performance and the dilemma that Gorbatsjov and his party had to solve: On the one hand, if they let the Soviet Union dismantle itself, the socialist union could turn into anarchy. On the other hand, in order to achieve freedom and transparency, they should give up power and authority (Nygaard 1987:30). According to Nygaard, Sturua's message to the audience was that this conflict should be solved and powers should be balanced (ibid.).

Sturua is a theatre director who always uses the theatre as a political tribune. *An Enemy of the People* (ექიმი შტოკმანი), staged at რუსთაველის თეატრი (Rustaveli Theatre) in 1972, was one of his politically loaded performances. The leading roles in *Doctor Stockmann*, as it was called, were performed by Gogi Gegechkori (გოგი გეგეჭკორი) as Doctor Stockmann and Erosi Manjgaladze (ეროსი მანჯგალაძე) as the Mayor. Gogi Gvaxaria, a Georgian film scholar, remembers that he attended the performance together with his classmates when they were about 15 or 16 year old. After the end of the performance, depicting the fate of Doctor Stockmann, who was hindered to express his own opinion and considered to be an enemy of the people only because his ideas differed from others, the boys whispered to each other: "it is obviously an anti-Soviet performance" (გვახარია 2011). Gvaxaria and his friends were not

the only ones who associated “Doctor Stockmann” with the Soviet reality. Nodar Gurabanidze, a Georgian theatre scholar who has worked at Rustaveli Theatre for decades, in his book “ევროპული დრამატურგია რუსთაველის თეატრში“ (*European Dramaturgy on the stage of Rustaveli Theatre*), among other plays analyzed *Doctor Stokmann* directed by R.Sturua, claiming that the conflict between an individual and society portrayed in Ibsen’s drama was an inevitable part of any social and political reality. For this reason, the play itself, like its original title *An Enemy of the People* caused associations to arise with the Soviet reality among members of the Georgian audience (გურაბანიძე 2012:254).

The stage design of the performance was simple, dominated by black and grey colours. The stage construction was set so that it could be easily turned from a house of Doctor Stockmann to an editorial office, etc. Stairs, that were part of the scenery in the first act, later gained a new function and served as a tribune from which Doctor Stockmann gave his speech (გუგუნივა 1973). In order to emphasize the main concept of the play, Sturua used a number of theatrical devices. One of the most unique features in the performance, according to many theatre

reviews, was the use of an onstage screen on which words relevant to the action were projected. Before the commencement of the performance, the title page of the book was projected onto the screen, showing: H. Ibsen, *Doctor Stockmann* (მუმლაძე 1973). During the first act, on the screen the words of Hovstad, underlined with red link, were projected: “გუშინ თქვენ ბრძანეთ, რომ ჩვენი სამკურნალო წყლები მოშხამული, სადაგელი ჭაობიაო. მე კი მგონია, ჩვენი უბედურების მიზეზი სულ სხვა ჭაობი გახლავთ, ის ჭაობი, რომელშიც მთელი ჩვენი ქალაქის ცხოვრება ღებება“ (გურაბანიძე 2012:252).



Fig.14. *Doctor Stockmann* at Rustaveli Theatre.

[You said yesterday that the pollution of the water was due to impurities in the soil ... I fancy it is due to quite another morass altogether...The morass that the whole life of our town is built on and is rotting in"] (Ibsen 2010). During the second act, the words of Doctor Stockmann were displayed: “ამ ქალაქში ერთი კაცური კაცი არ მოიძებნება. ყველა საკუთარ სოროზე ფიქრობს, საზოგადოებრივი ცხოვრება კი ფეხებზე ჰკიდიათ“ (გურაბანიძე 2012:252). [all the men in this town are old women — like you; they all think of nothing but their families, and never of the community] (Ibsen 2010). According to Gurabanidze, Sturua chose to project these extracts on the screen in order to emphasize their importance, and his own concerns. Consequently, the audience was shown the main concept of the performance directly and was given the possibility to draw parallels between Ibsenian reality and their own lives (გურაბანიძე 2012:252).

Furthermore, the director found an interesting solution to the scene where Doctor Stockmann addressed his co-citizens: on one side of the stage stood Doctor Stockmann together with his few supporters. On the other side there were representatives of a higher social level, i.e. the Mayor, rich citizens, etc. Between them Sturua placed marionettes with grey faces expressing no emotion. According to Gurabanidze, everyone understood that Sturua and the stage designer, Gogi Meskhishvili chose to use this theatrical device in order to emphasize that people who could not show initiative, who could not protest against the ruling injustice, were merely witnesses, unable to change anything. Doctor Stockmann, living as an active, energetic man, found himself alone against those lifeless marionettes who, being deprived of having their own opinions, had lost their individual selves and had turned into slaves of the officials (გუგუნიავა 1973). Interestingly, the marionettes and the representatives of the higher social level looked similar, since they all wore black clothes (ibid.).

Peter Stockmann, performed by Erosi Manjgaladze, was an antonym of Doctor Stockmann. Gurabanidze considered this character as a transitional phase from a person to a marionette” (გურაბანიძე 2012:253). His facial expressions were frozen, as if he were wearing a mask. He moved on the stage like a robot. Unlike Doctor Stockmann, who was full of emotions, it seemed that Peter Stockmann lacked feelings (ibid.). “The juxtaposition between the brothers was particularly strong in the scenes where they acted together. According to Gurabanidze,

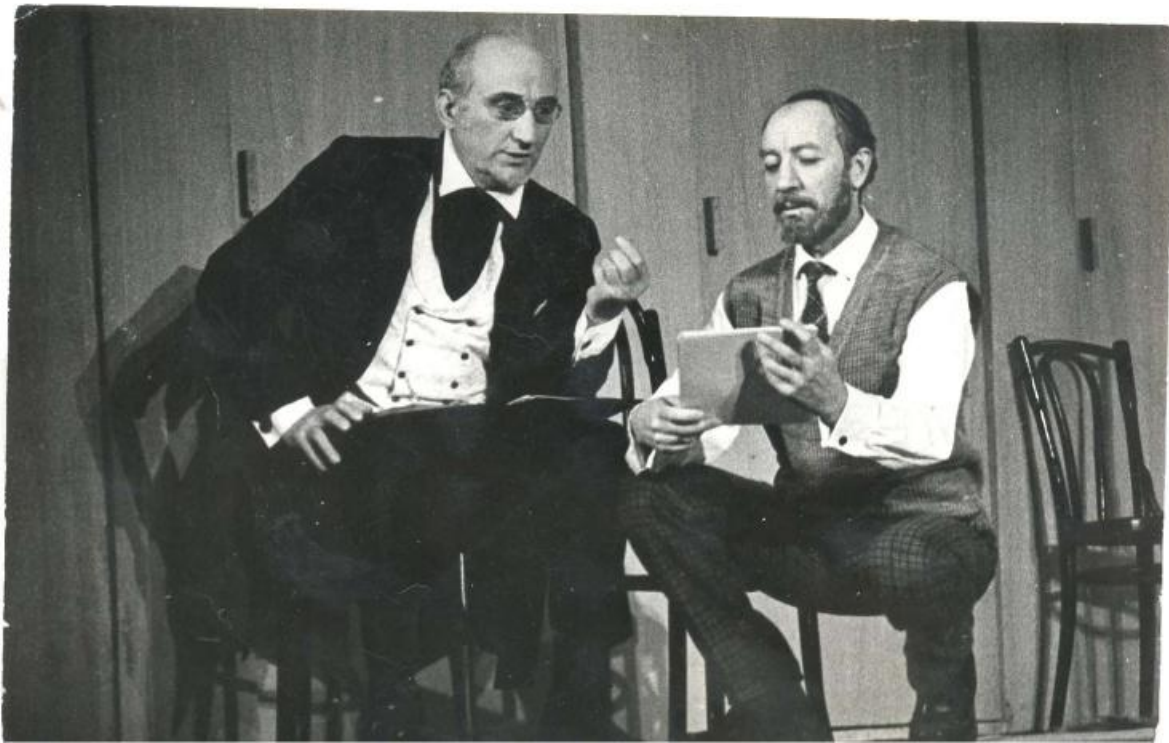


Fig. 15. *Doctor Stockmann* at Rustaveli Theatre. Erosi Manjgaladze as Peter Stockmann to the left and Gogi Gegechkori as Doctor Stockmann to the right.

the scene where Doctor Stockmann found his brother's hat and stick in the office of Hovstad was important for understanding the Mayor's character. Goffman claims that individuals and performers possess a "personal front", what we intimately identify with them and naturally expect will follow them wherever they go (Goffman 1990:35). As for Peter Stockmann, his hat and stick were his "personal fronts", underlining his social status and position. Therefore, the moment Gegechkori – Stockmann put on the Mayor's hat and held his stick, he was "transformed" into his brother. The Georgian theatre critic proposed that the message of this scene was the following: in modern society social status and position are given more importance than inner-self and individuality (გურაძენიძე 2012:254). People are respected not because of their character, but because of what they own or what they wear.

One more theatre review written by Dali Mumladze, focused on the character of Hovstad. According to Mumladze, in the beginning the editor seems to be a decent man, fighting for justice. However, Hovstad's personality is revealed in the scene when Stockmann secretly met him in the editorial office. The first thing that attracted the attention of the audience in Hovstad's office was the contrast between the simple interior of the editorial office and the

luxurious armchair of the editor. Mumladze believed that the arm-chair was a metaphor for Hovstad's ideals (მუმლაძე 1973). Later, the Mayor sat down with Hovstad and Aslaksen, giving them documents showing how much it would cost to change the water supply. According to Mumladze, the scene in which Peter Stockmann passed the documents to them and observed their reaction, looked as if they were playing cards, gambling away the life of Doctor Stockmann (ibid.).

Some critics considered that the actors performed their roles well in *Doctor Stockmann* and the stage design and costumes were remarkable (გურაბანიძე 2012). Others argued that even though the roles were performed by professional actors, the characters still seemed to be “incomplete” (მუმლაძე 1973), boring the audience (გიქიძე 1973). Some of the theatre scholars criticized the director for using metaphors that were too obvious (გურაბანიძე 2012:254). Others claimed that the theatrical devices that Sturua applied in *Doctor Stockmann* were banal, causing associations to arise with other famous performances (მუმლაძე 1973). Most of the reviewers claimed that *Doctor Stockmann* was not the best performance of Sturua. However, all agreed that *Doctor Stockmann* was a play that could be connected to the social and political reality of any country in any epoch. Consequently, according to critics, the Georgian audience found it interesting since they could associate problems posed in the play with their own concerns.

From 1972 until the early 1990s, the only play by Ibsen that was staged in Georgian theatres, was *Ghosts*. However, the performance presented by Marjanishvili Theatre (მარჯანიშვილის თეატრი) in 1976 is considered to be the most well-known Georgian performance of Ibsen's plays. The performance was staged by Temur Chkheidze, an outstanding Georgian theatre director. The stage designer was M. Chavchavadze. The leading roles were performed by ვერიკო ანჯაფარიძე (Veriko Anjaparidze) as Fru Alving, ნოდარ მგალობლიშვილი (Nodar Mgaloblishvili) as Oswald, აკაკი ვასაძე (Akaki Vasadze) as Pastor Manders, სოფიკო ჭიაურელი (Sophiko Chiaureli) as Regina, გივი ბერიკაშვილი (Givi Berikashvili) as Engstrand. The *Ghosts* of the Marjanishvili Theatre gained popularity in Georgia for several reasons. First of all, the actors performing the leading roles were known and adored by the Georgian audience. Veriko Anjaparidze (Fru Alving) and Akaki Vasadze (Pastor Manders) bore the honorary title of People's (National) Artists of the USSR.

Givi Berikashvili (Engstrand) and Sopiko Chiaureli (Regina), both meritorious artists of the USSR, had not only participated in many performances, but had also performed a number of leading roles in Georgian films and by the time they appeared in *Ghosts*, they were extremely popular among Georgian theatre and cinema goers (1976). Nodar Mgaloblishvili (Oswald) was a young actor, less known than his colleagues, but he immediately gained the love of the audience because of his acting talent and charming appearance.

Moreover, there was another reason for the popularity of *Ghosts*. In the beginning of their career, Veriko Anjaparidze and Akaki Vasadze were members of the troupe of Rustaveli theatre. In 1925-1926 they played together in *Hamlet* staged by Kote Marjanishvili. Anjaparidze performed the role of Ophelia, and Vasadze – the role of Claudius. In 1928 the Rustaveli Theatre troupe was divided into two groups because of a conflict between the theatre directors, Kote Marjanishvili and Alexnader Akhmeteli. Kote Marjanishvili founded a new theatre. Anjaparidze was one of the first actors who followed Marjanishvili, while Akaki Vasadze preferred to stay at Rustaveli Theatre with Sandro Akhmeteli. Since then, both Vasadze and Anjaparidze have become leading actors of their theatres. Most critics agree that these two actors changed the history of the Georgian theatre (დადიანი 1976).



Fig.16. *Ghosts* at Marjanishvili Theatre. Veriko Anjaparidze as Fru Alving to the left and Akaki Vasadze as Pastor Manders to the right.

More than fifty years after their ways aparted, Anjaparidze and Vasadze met each other on the stage again, this time in *Ghosts*. For this reason, this performance bore not only artistic value, but also historical importance for Georgian theatregoers. Many Georgians went to the theatre in order to see the famous duo together again (Khetaguri 2012). Last but not least, everybody acknowledged that the performance was well-staged and interesting. Chkheidze, unlike his predecessors, did not make hereditary disease the main theme of the performance. His *Ghosts* portrayed a struggle between the old, dead lifestyle and the thirst for life (შალუტაშვილი 1977). Moreover, the director did not distance modern reality from the problems posed in the play, but related them to the concerns of contemporary society and thus managed to portray the spiritual drama of his co-patriots (მაღულარია 1976). “We, actors, do not belong to the past. We follow the demands of modern society. Since we exist, we have to create something new and worthy [...]. Today’s performance united every trend in the theatre and that is why this is an example of a synthetic theatre, based on realism”, claimed Veriko Anjaparidze in her comments on *Ghosts* (დადიანი 1976).

The stage design by M. Chavchavadze, a combination of unreal and real elements, created a special atmosphere in the Alving house, (შალუტაშვილი 1977). Colours of the interior were chosen so that the audience received the allusion of the whole action taking place in a grey mist (მაღულარია 1976). Long transparent curtains, coming in contrast with the rest of the interior, were constantly moving and made people, moving among them, look like ghosts (შალუტაშვილი 1977). In the middle of the stage there was a round table, with armchairs around it. In these armchairs sat people telling each other their stories. They remembered the past, shared their pain and joy with each other, took off masks and revealed their real faces (მაღულარია 1976).



Fig. 17. *Ghosts* at Marjanishvili Theatre

According to Magularia, it was not possible to identify the main character in the performance staged by Chkheidze. There were five characters in the performance and each of them had a leading role (შალუტაშვილი 1977). Relations between the characters were a central point of the performance. Sociologists agreed that “it is rather a recognition of the fact that everyone is always and everywhere, more or less consciously, playing a role [...]. It is in these roles we know each other; it is in these roles that we know ourselves”, and, consequently, “it is [...] no mere historical accident that the word person, in its first meaning, is a mask” (R.E.Park 1950:249). All the five characters of Chkheidze’s *Ghosts* were examples of that particular phenomenon. Depending on whom they interacted with, they performed different roles, which could apply to multiple “faces” in different social and physical circumstances. With the term “face” I mean “the positive social value a person claims for himself”, as Goffman defines it (Goffman 1967:5). For example, Fru Alving’s attitude towards every person differed. Her voice timbre, gestures and expression changed depending on whom she addresses. However, she revealed her inner self when she was with her son, Oswald (შალუტაშვილი 1977). Chiaureli-Regina, on the other hand, was obedient and modest with Fru Alving and Pastor Manders, while her attitude towards Engstrand was totally different – rude and showing no respect. Consequently, the actors playing in *Ghosts* performed the roles of individuals who were taking part in an interaction ritual and were playing typical roles of everyday life.

What I find interesting in this performance is the fact that, similarly to the Soviet Georgian translations of *Ghosts*, in the performance Pastor Manders was addressed as “მოდღარი მანდერსი”. “მოდღარი” which in Georgian means “priest, confessor, father”. Thus, even though Pastor Manders was not dressed in a priest’s robe, but in a simple black outfit resembling the clothes of a protestant pastor, giving the title of “priest/father” to him in the



Fig. 18. Akaki Vasadze as Pastor/Priest Manders.

performance would awaken associations with Georgian clergymen who were the outcast of society in the Soviet Union. It is worth mentioning that in many Georgian productions of *Ghosts*, among them that staged in Ozurgeti, at Makharadze Theatre in 1977, Father Manders was portrayed as a kind, though naïve person, easy to deceive (ფიფიაშვილი 1977). Chkeidze's Manders, on the contrary, was a hypocrite, serving false moral values (მაღუტაშვილი 1977). As soon as Vasadze-Manders appeared on the stage, the audience noticed that he was not an honest person, that he was hiding something. One could hear it in his voice; see it in his gestures (ibid). It seems, that the “expectations of the horizons” of the theatre critics encompassed Georgian reality and consequently, their analysis of the character of Pastor Manders resembled a criticism of the representatives of the religious circle published in Soviet periodicals. They characterized Manders as a person who tried to hinder any kind of development, since all changes posed a threat to the system that was acceptable to him “Priest Manders neglects to acknowledge that a new era brought new ideas [...]. Religion is not capable of having an influence on society [...]. Modern people do not want to neglect happiness in this life, hoping that they will go to the Kingdom of Heaven after death” (მაღულარია 1976:82). According to Magularia, Priest Manders, similarly to Captain Alving was a ghost, since he lived in the past and followed obsolete rules.

In 1973, the “thaw” came to Georgia (Rayfield 2005) and made it possible to publish and stage plays that had been forbidden, among them *The Pretenders* (ბრძოლა ტახტისათვის) that was staged by Sukhumi Theatre named after Konstantine Gamsakhurdia. Sukhumi Theatre visited Tbilisi in 1990 and presented together with other plays. The repertoire of Sukhumi Theatre in the early nineties was interesting and relevant to modern reality. Performances presented by this theatre “gained new meaning in Georgia in the last decade of the 20th century, where the poignant problems that had been swept under the carpet for many decades, were finally exposed” (ჭავჭავაძე 1990:2). Sukhumi is the capital of the autonomous republic of Abkhazia. As the Soviet Union began to disintegrate



Fig. 19. *The Pretenders*

towards the end of the 1980s, ethnic tensions grew between the Abkhaz and Georgians over Georgia's moves towards independence. In 1989 the situation in Abkhazia was tense (ibid.). Those who lived in Abkhazia felt that a Georgian-Abkhazian conflict was inevitable. For this reason, it cannot be a coincidence that Gogi Kavtaradze and T. Koshkadze, theatre directors who witnessed the emergence and development of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict, decided to stage *The Pretenders*, a historical drama by Ibsen depicting a national movement in 19th century Norway, underlining the importance of the unification of the country and the creation of a common national consciousness.

The Pretenders portrayed the conflict between Haakon Håkonsson, king of Norway dreaming of the unification of his country, performed by Dima Jaiani (დ.ჯაიანი) and Earl Skule, a feudal character sacrificing the interests of his country to his personal interests, performed by N.Bekauri (ნ.ბეკაური). The directors closely followed the original text of the play, introducing almost no changes in the plot (ჭავჭავაძე 1990:6). The stage design by D. Datukashvili presented a landscape framed by a scaffold. Only the ground of this country had been laid down. The rest would be built in the future (ibid.). As for costumes, purple and violet colours dominated in them. The only difference between the outfit of the adversaries was that the supporters of Earl Skule wore black shirts under their outfit, made of hop-sacking



Fig.20. *The Pretenders* at Sukhumi Theatre

and wore black headbands, while the supporters of King Haakon wore white shirts and white headbands, indicating that they were sons of the same country (ჭავჭავაძე 1990:7). The only character whose clothes stood in contrast to the others' was Bishop Nickolas, a mischief-maker manipulating people and creating intrigues between them, who was dressed in a red robe.

Haakon Hakonsson was idealized in the performance. Our country "has been a kingdom, it shall become a people" (Ibsen), he claimed and did everything for turning his dream into reality. The directors found interesting solution to the finale of the performance. After the bloodshed, the country is being rebuilt. King Haakon works with his people. In the last scene, he puts his throne at the gate so that he can stand on it and hammer a horseshoe (a symbol of luck, happiness in Georgia) on it. The lights on the stage are dimmed. However, suddenly a figure standing on the scaffold, dressed in a long outfit, attracts the attention of the audience. This is a monk who followed Bishop Nickolas like a shadow, overhearing his thoughts proclaimed aloud and confessions. The priest turned towards the audience slowly, and revealed his hands, wearing the dark red gloves that belonged to bishop Nickolas. Theatre critic A. Chavchavadze interpreted the appearance of the monk in the final scene as a symbol of eternal evil, posing a threat to goodness (ჭავჭავაძე 1990:9).

Nodar Gurabanidze, one of the most respected Georgian theatre critics, characterized Kavtaradze as a director who, by his performances, always managed to answer poignant questions posed in modern society and staged plays so that a Georgian audience could associate them with their own problems (გურაბანიძე 2003:19). Gurabanidze attended *The Pretenders* at Sukhumi Theatre and was moved by the performance, claiming later that the directors predicted the conflict. According to the theatre critic, events described in Ibsen's drama turned into the Georgian reality in the early 1990s. Gurabanidze proposes that the words of Earl Skule: "Party must stand against party, claim against claim, region against region" (Ibsen), suggests an exact description of the situation in Georgia in the last decade of the twentieth century. To conclude, *The Pretenders* of Sukhumi Theatre was a performance that bore political meaning and responded not only to problems posed in the Georgian reality, but also to those that were in the process of emerging.

All in all, many interesting performances of Ibsen's plays were staged in the Soviet Republic of Georgia. However, *Ghosts* was the most staged play by Ibsen during the Soviet period in Georgia. In order to understand why this was so, one should take into consideration that in the Soviet Union, where atheism was preached and all religions were condemned, an anti-religious motive was often the leading theme of literary works, performances and films. Many Soviet-Georgian films, among them *Londre* and *Wish tree*, portrayed immoral clergymen deceiving people, courting women and drinking much alcohol. For this reason, it is not surprising that a play by Ibsen depicting how Christian morality hindered Fru Alving from obtaining freedom; giving a negative portrait of a clergyman whose sight is obscure because of the religion he serves (ხერცოძე 1968) perfectly fits with the Soviet ideology. Consequently, many Georgian theatre directors, both in the capital and in the regions chose to stage this play in order to pay tribute to the ruling ideology.



Fig. 21. Pastor Manders and Regina, Marjanishvili Theatre

To conclude, the Soviet Georgian productions of Ibsen's plays significantly differed from each other depending in which period they were staged. The earliest Soviet performances, staged before the World War II, mostly bore a deductive character, showing the audience what grievous consequences an immoral life could lead to. Performances that appeared after the 1960s, were less loaded ideologically and more creative. However, many productions of

Ghosts of that period mostly focused on the negative sides of Priest Manders, associating him with Georgian clergymen. The most important Soviet productions of Ibsen's plays, in my opinion, were created after the 1970s. The "thaw" made it possible to stage plays that were banned before and thus, in Georgia, similarly to Norway before 1814, Poland in 1976 and Lithuania in 1987, the theatre gained political influence and became "an arena for expressing national emotions which could not be represented or performed elsewhere"(Andersen and Nygaard 2009:41). Nygaard, who was in Georgia in November 1988, and witnessed mass demonstrations at the parliament building, in his article "...i en uendelig myk trengsel" claims that November 1988 had the same importance for Georgia as May 17 had for Norway (Nygaard 1989). Furthermore, all the three articles of Nygaard I have applied to this subchapter, are based on the hypothesis that in periods of transition theatre, as a collective art based on and expressing collective emotions, gives the first signs for change before collective emotions are transformed into political action. Nygaard explains this phenomenon thus: on the one hand, in the printed media individual theoretical reflection can be presented and individually read, while collective emotions, on the other hand, are only present in the collective art. Therefore, emotions and hidden understanding between people at the theatre cannot be suppressed by the censorship the same way as the printed media (Nygaard 1987, Nygaard 1989, Andersen and Nygaard 2009). Sturua's *Doctor Stockmann* and Kavtaradze's and Koshkadze's *The Pretenders* were obviously anti-Soviet performance, the first performance depicting the flaws in the Soviet Union and the other, preaching the importance of national unification and, according to Gurbanidze, predicted the coming conflict (გურბანიძე 2003:19)

4 Ibsen's Reception in the Democratic Republic of Georgia

4.1 Ibsen and Literary Criticism in the Democratic Republic of Georgia

In 1991 Georgia declared independence. In the democratic republic of Georgia literary critics were given an opportunity to express their opinions freely and discuss topics that were banned during the Russian tutelage and the Soviet annexation. However, economic hardship following the collapse of the Soviet Union, armed conflicts with the autonomous republics of South Ossetia and Abkhazia and civil war in 1992 led the country to grievous consequences. For this reason, the major concern of the Georgian population in the 1990s was a struggle for survival. Thousands of families were left without income and access to electricity and basic healthcare, experiencing unbearable life conditions. Considering these circumstances, in the 1990s, similar to the short period of independence of Georgia in 1917-1921 and to conditions in the Second World War, the interest of Georgian literary critics towards Ibsen and his works not surprisingly decreased. The only articles that appeared in Georgian periodicals on Ibsen were theatre reviews on *The Vikings at Helgeland* staged in Sukhumi Theatre that I will discuss later.

The majority of the earliest articles on Ibsen that were published in the independent republic of Georgia were translations of the works of European and Russian critics. Lili Mchedlishvili – a well-known Georgian translator translated two articles on Ibsen from Russian into Georgian. The first one – “Henrik Ibsen” by Nikolai Berdyaev was published in *საუნჯე (Treasure)* in 1998 while “Ibsen and Dostoevsky,” an extract from the book by Andrey Bely appeared in the journal *პრიგო* in 2001. Considering the fact that whatever was published on Ibsen in Georgia since 1920s was infused with Communist propaganda, the appearance of the works of Berdyaev and Bely in the Georgian printing press was a quantum leap in Georgian Ibseniana.

Berdyaev, the Russian religious philosopher who was expelled from the Soviet Union in 1922, starts his article by stating that Ibsen helped him pass through the crisis and break with Marxism. Obviously, Berdyaev's article is free of the Marx-Engels-Lenin philosophy that was the main feature of Ibsen's reception in the Soviet republic of Georgia. Berdyaev claims that the Norwegian playwright is neither a rightist nor a leftist, but a spiritual revolutionary who was protecting individual, artistic and religious freedom (ბერდიაევი and მჭედლიშვილი

1998:280). As for Andrey Bely – the Russian novelist and poet, similarly to Berdyaev, his attitude towards Ibsen’s works is drastically different from the approach of the Soviet literary critics. In his article Bely characterizes Ibsen and Dostoevsky as fighters for the future of mankind (ბელი and მჭედლიშვილი 2001:16). In a telephone interview in January 2013, Mchedlishvili told me that she translated these two articles because she found them interesting and thought that Georgian readers should be given an opportunity to read them (Mchedlishvili 2013). Even though Mchedlishvili did not choose the strategy that was used by Kita Abashidze – translating articles of Russian writers on Ibsen and thus filling the gap in Georgian Ibseniana by “borrowing from foreign critics” (კ.ა. 1901), she still served the purpose of introducing Ibsen to the literary criticism of the democratic republic of Georgia.

In the first decade of the 21st century, more translations of European and Russian reviews appeared in Georgian periodicals. “Ibsen and Wagner” by Thomas Mann translated from German by Rusudan Gvinepadze was published in *ჩვენი მწერლობა* in 2010. In 2009, the Georgian Shota Rustaveli Theatre and Film University published Elena Topuridze’s selected works, including two articles on Ibsen. Topuridze was a Georgian philosopher, writer and theatre scholar. She took her PhD in Russia. Therefore, she wrote some of her works in Russian, among them “Мотивы учения С. Киркегора в творчестве Ибсена” (*Motives of the Kierkegaardian thought in Ibsen’s works*) that was published in 1971. Extracts of the mentioned monograph dealing with *Peer Gynt* (trans. by Maia Goshadze) and *Brand* (trans. by Guliko Mamulashvili) were included in the *Selected Works*, vol.1. In addition to holding a Master’s degree in Philosophy and a PhD in philosophy and philology, Topuridze spoke several European languages and was able to read works of European critics in the original. While teaching the history of world drama at Shota Rustaveli Theatre and Film Institute, Topuridze focused on the writers and plays that were banned in the Soviet Union, among them works on Ibsen and Hamsun. Furthermore, in the communist era, she had often translated forbidden European literature into Georgian and had let her students read it (ბეთაგური 2009:5). Topuridze was the first Georgian scholar who studied Ibsen’s works from a philosophical angle, relating them to Kierkegaardian philosophy. Even though the Georgian theatre critic was aware of Ibsen’s denial of having read much Kierkegaard, she still believed that the philosophical-aesthetic concepts of the Danish philosopher had had a strong impact on the writings of the Norwegian playwright, particularly on *Brand* and *Peer Gynt*.

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, more articles on Ibsen appeared in the Georgian printing press. In 2001 “პერ გუნტი” იბსენისა და გრიგის შემოქმედებაში (“Peer Gynt” by Ibsen and Grieg”) of Mariam Iashvili who was then a student of Shota Rustaveli Theatre and Film Georgian University, was published in *თეატრი და ცხოვრება (Theatre and Life)*. In her article Iashvili analyses “Peer Gynt” from a philosophical angle, focusing on individualism and proposes that the Ibsenian poetic drama is a tragedy caused by a loss of the individual self and personal dignity (იაშვილი 2003:121). Furthermore, Iashvili claims that the Norwegian author chose to base his poetic drama on Norwegian folklore in order to underline the fact that one of the reasons of Gynt’s tragedy was his origins (ibid.). Having analyzed the main characteristics of Grieg’s music to Ibsenian drama, Iashvili concluded that “Peer Gynt” is one of the most successful examples of the synthesis of folklore, dramaturgy and music (იაშვილი 2003:124).

In 2008 an article on Ibsen was published in *ქართული თეატრის დღე (Georgian Theatre Day)* in order to celebrate the 180th anniversary of the birth of the Norwegian playwright. In the introduction to the article there is a brief biography of the author together with a description of the main motives in Ibsen’s writings. The last paragraph of the article is devoted to Ibsen on the Georgian stage, mainly concentrating on the most successful Ibsen productions in Georgian theatres since the first decades of the twentieth century (2008:6). The same year, one more article appeared on Ibsen in “Works of Akhaltsikhe Institute” (“ახალციხის ინსტიტუტის შრომები”). “თავისუფლებისა და ისტორიული აუცილებლობის პრობლემა ჰენრიკ იბსენის შემოქმედებაში” (“The problem of freedom and historical inevitability in Henrik Ibsen’s works”) by Nino Machavariani focuses on the philosophical depth of Ibsen’s works, drawing parallels between the authorship of Ibsen and Strindberg to the philosophy of S. Kierkegaard. Focusing on the eternal conflict existing between individuals and historical reality and in this regard analyzing *Emperor and Galilean*, *The Vikings at Helgeland* and *Brand*, Machavariani proposes that individuals cannot change history unless historical reality offers the necessary basis needed for such changes (მაჭავარიანი 2008:111). Furthermore, according to Machavariani, Ibsen differentiated personal freedom from political freedom even though he proposed that these two concepts were interrelated. Taking an example from *Emperor and Galilean*, Machavariani proposes that Julian first and foremost struggled for personal freedom. Only if

he succeeds to make individuals free, will he manage to liberate his country (მაჭავარიანი 2008:117).

To conclude, not so much has been written on Ibsen in the literary criticism of the independent republic of Georgia. However, it can be explained by the fact that in the late 1990s the Georgian nation had serious socio-economic problems and most people had to fight for survival. Therefore, it is not surprising that interest towards Ibsen's works decreased during this period. From the early 2000s, articles on Ibsen re-appeared in the Georgian printing press. However, it seems that Ibsen's works nowadays attract the attention of only theatre and literary scholars, unlike during the period of Russian tutelage when mostly publicists and politically active Georgian intellectuals published their works on the Norwegian playwright. Considering the fact that the articles I have referred to in this sub-chapter date from the first decade of the twenty first century, their number is not impressive. However, Georgian Ibseniana is still developing. The works of the Norwegian playwright are included in the curricula of Shota Rustaveli Theatre and Film Georgian University and theatre departments of other Georgian universities. It is worth mentioning that there have been some events devoted to the Norwegian playwright in recent years, among them a lecture on Ibsen on the Georgian Stage given by Nino Kiria, a PhD student of Shota Rustaveli Theatre and Film University. The main characteristic of modern Georgian Ibseniana is that Georgian scholars are particularly interested in the philosophical depth of Ibsen's works and concentrate on issues in Ibsen's oeuvre that were out of focus of Georgian literary criticism for many years. However, there is still much to research on Ibsen in Georgia. For example issues related to Ibsen reception in Georgia, Georgian productions of Ibsen's plays, etc. need to be studied better. Considering that there are more students becoming interested in Ibsen and even travelling to Norway to take up Ibsen studies, hopefully soon more interesting and important works will be published into Georgian on the Norwegian playwright and his works.

4.2 Ibsen Translations in the Democratic Republic of Georgia

In the democratic republic of Georgia many of Ibsen's works were retranslated or translated for the first time. However, Bachana Bregvadze was the only translator who has relayed Ibsen's works into Georgian since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Bregvadze who holds a PhD in philosophy and has been member of the Institute of Philosophy of Georgia, is the author of books on Antique civilizations and philosophers. Furthermore, he has translated works of Aristotle, Marcus Aurelius, Cervantes, Machiavelli, Euripides and many others into Georgian (2013). Bregvadze started translating works of the Norwegian playwright in the 1980s and continued translating and publishing them after Georgia restored its independence. In 1991 Bregvadze's translation of *The Lady from the Sea* was published in *ბელოვანება* (*Art*). After one year the first translation of *Rosmersholm* into Georgian appeared in *საუნჯო* (*Treasure*). In 1994-1995 Bregvadze's translations of Ibsen's plays were published in two volumes by the Cervantes Society and the editorial house *Irmisa*. The first volume consisted of Georgian translations of *Emperor and Galilean*, *Pillars of Society*, *A Doll's House*, *Ghosts* and *An Enemy of the People*, while the second volume included *The Wild Duck*, *Rosmersholm*, *The Lady from the Sea*, *Hedda Gabler*, *The Master Builder*, *Little Eyolf* and for the first time in Georgian *When we Dead Awaken*.

In a telephone interview in August 2012, Bregvadze told me that he has always been interested in Norwegian literature, particularly the works of Hamsun and Ibsen. However, the reason why he decided to translate Ibsen's works into Georgian was that during the period when he was severely ill, nothing helped him to forget his pain but reading the plays of Ibsen. That is when he started translating the works of the Norwegian playwright into Georgian (Bregvadze 2012). Interestingly, he relayed Ibsen into Georgian via French and Russian translations. Using two different sources enabled the translator to get closer to the original (ibid). Being a translator of prose, Bregvadze preferred not to attempt translating the



Fig.22. B.Bregvadze

dramatic poems of Ibsen. Bregvadze's translations are considered to be masterly. Consequently, his translations of Ibsen's works are highly appreciated by Georgian readers and translation and theatre critics.

I have interviewed Levan Khetaguri, a theatre scholar, a lecturer at Ilia State University and the director of the Arts Research Institute on Ibsen reception in Georgia. When discussing teaching Ibsen to the students of theatre studies, Khetaguri underlined the importance of Bregvadze's translations of the playwright's works. According to Khetaguri, the absence or poor quality of the translations of many European playwrights often poses problems for Georgian lecturers. However, in the case of Ibsen, most of his major works are relayed into Georgian and the latest translations made by Bregvadze are not only relatively close to the original, but Ibsen's style is maintained in them and furthermore, they are translated into good Georgian. Therefore, Georgian theatre students in addition to getting pleasure from reading good quality translations, have an opportunity not to miss many details of Ibsen's plays that were lost in previous Georgian translations (Khetaguri 2012). Having checked Bregvadze's translations, I share Khetaguri's opinion and believe that the translator has done a great job. I could not trace any of the misinterpretations in Bregvadze's translations that I have discussed when analyzing previous Georgian translations. There are some cases when the textual information of the original is altered in the translations. However, in most of the cases those minor changes do not cause an alteration of the conceptual or sub-textual information.

I believe that every epoch needs new translations. For this reason, it is remarkable that the translating of Ibsen's works is continuing in the democratic republic of Georgia and furthermore, the plays of the Norwegian playwright have been relayed into Georgian by such an experienced and outstanding translator as Bachana Bregvadze. Even though Bregvadze's translations are considered to be good, in my opinion it is very important that Ibsen's works should be translated into Georgian directly from Norwegian. The number of Georgian students taking Scandinavian studies has increased radically in recent years. Therefore, I hope that soon direct translations of Ibsen's works into Georgian will appear for the first time.

4.3 Ibsen on the Stage of the Democratic Republic of Georgia

Ibsen's plays have been staged in the democratic Republic of Georgia since 1998. Gogi Kavtaradze, the theatre director who staged *The Pretenders* at Sokhumi Theatre in the late 1980s, together with T. Koshkadze, directed two plays by Ibsen after the collapse of the Soviet Union. As a result of the conflict in Abkhazia, many Georgians were forced to abandon their homes and become refugees in their own country. The Sukhumi Theatre troupe also fled to Tbilisi. After the conflict in Abkhazia, Gogi Kavtaradze was appointed as a director at Rustavi Theatre. According to Nodar Gurabanidze, Kavtaradze's appointment awakened Rustavi Theatre and made its repertoire much more interesting and meaningful than before (გურაბანიძე 2003). Fifteen years after the Sukhumi premiere, Kavtaradze staged *The Pretenders* once again at Rustavi Theatre, this time without a co-director. In an interview in 2002 Kavtaradze stated that the reason why he chose to stage *The Pretenders* was because he found similarities between the plot of the play and contemporary Georgian reality. "The play deals with the question of authority and emphasizes in fact that not everyone is eligible to rule a country. Leaders of the country should be chosen by God." (ლომძე 2002).

The premiere of *The Pretenders* at the Rustavi Theatre was held on May 11, 2003. Kavtaradze changed the title of the play and instead of ბრძოლა ტახტისათვის, *Struggle for a Throne* in a Georgian translation (as it was named at the Sukhumi Theatre), gave it the title ბრძოლა ხელისუფლებისათვის (*Struggle for Authority*). Gurabanidze proposed that this new title described the Georgian reality of the late 1990s better, focusing on the lust for authority, that, like an epidemic, spread throughout the country, contaminating more and more people (გურაბანიძე 2003:21). In the performance, similarly to the Georgian reality, people did anything in order to obtain power. They lied, they betrayed each other, they intrigued. The dramatic action between King Haakon, performed by Zura Ingorokva (ზურა ინგოროყვა), and Earl Skule performed by Zviad Dolidze (ზვიად დოლიძე) and Bishop Nickolas, performed by Gia Lezhava (გია ლეჟავა) developed on a background of music by Verdi, Belini, Grieg, Wagner, Tchaikovsky and Puccini giving more emotional value to particular scenes. According to Gurabanidze, sometimes music told more to the audience than

the action and the dialogues on the stage (გურაბანიძე 2003:21). The stage design by Paata Mdzinarishvili (პაატა მძინარიშვილი) presented a silhouette of a castle, with black, grey and brown colours dominating and thus creating a cold and mournful atmosphere. A red throne was placed on the stage so that it could be seen well from any angle. Skule and Bishop Nickolas took turns to sit in it (გურაბანიძე 2003:21). King Haakon's idea, that a country, without a united people, "may be likened to a church that stands as yet unconsecrate" (Ibsen) was underlined in the performance. According to Gurabanidze, by stressing this phrase, the message of the director to the audience was the following: even though Georgia is a nation, its people are still scattered. The country is not united (ibid.). However, there was one major difference between the performance and the Georgian reality, according to the theatre critic. In the performance, after obtaining power and authority, the "separatist" Skule realized that Haakon was right and acknowledged the importance of the unification of the country for the welfare of its people. Skule discovered the truth, unlike Georgian pseudo patriots, who, after becoming politicians, forgot about people and served merely their own interests (გურაბანიძე 2003:22).



Fig. 23. *An Enemy of the People* at Tumanishvili Theatre

In 2010, Gogi Kavtaradze staged one more play by Ibsen, *An enemy of the people* at Tumanishvili Theatre. Tbilisi City Hall annually finances stage performances in various theatres in Tbilisi, and *An Enemy of the People* was funded by them (ქართული თეატრის ენციკლოპედია 2012). In 2009 the head of Tumanishvili Theatre, Ketil Dolidze, initiated a project "Tumanishvili's students at Tumanishvili Theatre" in the framework of which students of Micheil Tumanishvili, a famous Georgian theatre director would present their works in the theatre named after Tumanishvili (ძიგუა 2010). Gogi Kavtaradze, who was one of the students of Tumanishvili, was the first director who showed an interest in the project and chose to stage *An Enemy of the People* by Henrik Ibsen, one of the five plays that

Tumanishvili dreamed of staging in the theatre but never did. By considering the mentioned performance, I will attempt to discover why Kavtaradze became interested in and decided to stage this particular play of Ibsen in 21st Georgia that, according to the US president G.W.Bush, has been “building a democratic society where the rights of minorities are respected; where a free press flourishes; where a vigorous opposition is welcomed and where unity is achieved through peace”(Bash, King et al. 2005). Furthermore, I will try to examine whether or not this contemporary Georgian theatre director, like his predecessors, tends to give a specific local political context to *An Enemy of the People* and again use the play as a weapon for fighting against political injustice, this time in 21st century Georgia.

Kavtaradze's *An Enemy of the People* is a performance in two acts with an intermission, lasting for 140 minutes. The stage designer is Bidzina Kavtaradze and costumes were created by Ana Kalatozishvili. The main character of the play is performed by Nodar Mgaloblishvili, who is often associated with Ibsen's plays, since he was a famous performer of the role of Oswald in *Ghosts* at Marjanishvili Theatre in the 1970s. One of the journal reviews claims that choosing the protagonists of the performance, namely Nodar Mgaloblishvili and Giorgi Nakashidze, was an interesting socio-political protest (ზუბრიკიძე 2010). Both actors perform the leading roles, and the director and the author of the script of this performance have been actively involved in the political processes taking place in Georgia since 2003, when President Miceil Saakashvili and the Nationalist Party came into power. According to Kavtaradze, *An Enemy of the People* seems “to have been specially written for the purpose of being staged in contemporary Georgia”(კვირკველია 2009), implying that the problems represented in *An Enemy of the People* by Ibsen correspond to the ones that have been posed in Georgia since the beginning of the 21st century. In 2003 thousands of people, tired of the previous regime, supported the leader of the revolts, a young politician Miceil Saakashvili, who the same year was elected president of Georgia and the Nationalist Party that he represented became the ruling party of the country. However, in the last few years the popularity of Saakashvili and his party among Georgians sharply declined. There have been a number of major protests against the government, criticizing the authorities for imposing a tyranny and of a breach of human rights. As an example, in 2011, on 26th of May, the Independence Day of Georgia, anti-government protests were held in Tbilisi. The protesters demanded the resignation of President Mikheil Saakashvili. According to Human Rights House, the protest rally was violently dispersed. The police beat and detained demonstrators.

Furthermore, freedom of speech was hindered, since the journalists were not allowed to record the facts of violence against demonstrators (Latatia 2011). Kavtaradze, as a strong opponent of Saakashvili regime, often participated in protests against the Georgian government. He was one of the activists of the May protests in 2011 and one of the first among those intellectuals who were detained at Rustaveli Theatre and reportedly beaten by the police.



Fig. 24.
Kavtaradze at a protest meeting in May 2011



Fig.25.
Dispersing the protest action on May 26, 2011

According to Fischer-Lichte, since drama is not only artistic, but also a socio-political space, “all that occurs publicly in the theatre both on stage and between actors and spectators may reflect, condemn or negate the surrounding social conditions or anticipate future ones” (Fischer-Lichte 2008:100). Kavtaradze’s political position and his comment on similarities between *An Enemy of the People* and contemporary Georgian politics, make it plausible that when staging Ibsen’s drama his goal was to criticize the modern Georgian reality.

Furthermore, it seems that he succeeded in accomplishing his aim, since many of the reviewers of the performance agree that the performance displays acute issues posed in present-day Georgia. One of the articles opens with a quotation from Doctor Stokmann's monologue that is followed by the author's comment: "You are mistaken if you think that this is an extract from a speech of a leader of the opposition or a ruling party. Those words belong to a doctor of the nineteenth century living in a small resort in Europe from the play *An Enemy of the People* by Henrik Ibsen" (ძიგუა 2010). Although one can argue that corrupt officials who care about nothing but their own welfare; people who can be misled and fooled by those who have access to power and wealth can be found in any country, including Georgia, it seems that there is more that Ibsenian drama has in common with modern Georgian political and social conditions. It cannot be a mere coincidence that the audience having watched the performance that closely follows the text of the Norwegian playwright raises the following question: Is it the play itself that depicts a situation similar to ours or is it due to the changes the theatre director has made to it that we receive certain associations? (კიკნაველიძე 2010).

The reason why Kavtaradze's performance is so relevant to the Georgian reality is due to the fact that it deals with the urgent socio-political problems aroused in the country. However, when making this assumption, I do not rely solely on my intuition but take into consideration the acute issues in which Kavtaradze has been interested in or has commented upon. Politics subjugating culture has been one of the prevailing problems in Georgia in recent years. Dismissing and oppressing cultural workers because of their political views has become quite frequent in Georgia especially after the Georgian-Russian war in 2008 (Sheshaberidze 2010). One of the first of those actors who was persecuted by the government was Dimitry Jaiani, former head of Sukhumi Drama theatre, a close friend of Gogi Kavtaradze and a performer of the role of Hakon Hakonsson in *The Pretenders* staged by Kavtaradze in Sukhumi Theatre in 1988. According to Jaiani, parliamentary majority deputies were putting constant pressure on him and demanding that he leave the theatre. In the end he was practically dismissed without receiving any formal confirmation (Batiani 2009). As with Jaiani, Ketii Dolidze, former director of the Mikheil Tumanishvili theatre (the person who was initiator of the project "Tumanishvili's students at Tumanishvili Theatre") was punished because of her radical attitude to the ruling regime. According to Dolidze, the reason, for her dismissal from the position of art director of Tumanishvili Theatre was the fact that she had criticized the Tbilisi



Fig. 26.

Dolidze informing the press on her dismissal. Kavtaradze in the background.

International Festival that was initiated by the City Hall and municipality board. Dolidze stated that it was unacceptable that the jury members of the festival were government officials, among them Tbilisi Mayor Gigi Ugulava. Moreover Dolidze had formerly participated in opposition meetings against the government. Obviously, her attitude was not appreciated by government officials and as a result, on September 1, 2009 the ministry of culture dismissed her from her position as art director of Tumanishvili Theatre, claiming that the reason for the her dismissal was the failure of the season at Tumanishvili Theatre (Sheshaberidze 2010). Unfortunately, attempts at silencing and subjugating artists has continued until recently. In August 2011 the National Party made arguably one of the biggest mistakes ever by firing Robert Sturua from his position as artistic director of the Rustaveli Theatre company, blaming him of being xenophobic (Redgrave, Rickman et al. 2011). Sturua is known for his criticism and opposition of tyranny, violence and injustice in any regime in his performances. Among others his *Doctor Stockman* at Rustaveli Theatre in 1972 was obviously an anti-Soviet performance. The Soviet authorities, however, did not dismiss him from his position, unlike the “democratic and open-minded officials” of 21st century Georgia. “I live in Georgia, where the president has now concentrated complete power over the arts, education and media in his hands. There are increasingly uncomfortable echoes of the methods of another son of Georgia, Joseph Stalin, while a similarly misleading veneer of

justice and democracy is presented to the outside world”, claims Sturua in a letter published in *The Guardian* (Sturua 2011).

Kavtaradze described the firing of Dolidze as a scandal and did not believe that the ministry of culture had any serious ground for such a conduct (კვირკველია 2009). Furthermore, he was one of those theatre workers who were actively supporting Sturua and protesting against his dismissal. It is worth mentioning that Kavtaradze staged *An Enemy of the People* shortly after Dolidze was dismissed from her position. In the same newspaper, an interview where he comments on the mentioned event, Kavtaradze informed the journalist that he was preparing a new play that would be staged in October and described it as: “a play about a person [...] who thinks about nothing but people and does everything for people. All of a sudden the situation develops so that he is declared to be “an enemy of the people”, while in reality he is devoted to the people”(კვირკველია 2009). It cannot be a coincidence that the year his friend and colleague was dismissed from her position because of her criticisms of the city mayor interfering with theatre matters, Kavtaradze started working on a play that portrays a fight between a just person and unjust government officials, ironically represented by the city mayor. As I have already mentioned, Kavtaradze’s performance follows closely Ibsen’s text. However, there are some parts of the Ibsenian drama that are given more weight and importance in the performance than others. As an example, the mayor’s threat “if you do not stop, you will lose your job” becomes a leitmotif of the performance and is repeated over and over again. Kavtaradze’s doctor, similarly to Dolidze, Sturua and many others, is a hero who did not stop fighting for justice even though it could destroy his career. It is remarkable that Kavtaradze himself “unlike some of his colleagues, has not chosen a neutral position but an uncompromised way of fighting in art” (მიგუა 2010). Nodar Mgaloblishvili, the performer of the role of the doctor has done the same. In 1997 he was awarded the order of honour, a state order of Georgia by President Shevardnadze to recognize his achievements in theatre. Mgaloblishvili refused the order, stating that “government officials should not give the order of honour to people they diminish. It does not make sense to insult a person, not to pay him the salary he has earned and then award him with the order of honour”(გვანასია 2012). Furthermore, he has sharply criticized injustice of any ruling regime, among them Saakashvili and the Nationalist party. One could argue that the prototypes of the main character of Kavtaradze’s performance are Georgian cultural workers who keep on expressing their ideas even though they are threatened and oppressed by the ruling regimes.

As for the plot of the play, Kavtaradze has left it almost intact, particularly the first act of the performance. However, the way he has altered the end is striking. On the one hand, the final of Ibsen's drama is optimistic: Doctor Stockmann, discovering that "the strongest man in the world is he who stands most alone", decides to himself educate his children so that they "drive all the wolves out of the country" in the future (Ibsen 2010). Kavtaradze's performance, on the other hand, ends with a funeral of the doctor who, finding out that epidemics started spreading in the city, dies from a heart attack. Those who were throwing stones at him and caused his death, albeit indirectly, were gathered at the doctor's house, as if mourning the loss, condoling with his family members (კიკნაველიძე 2010). The question that the final scene of the performance raises is why did the director find such a solution?



Fig.27. Finale Scene of *An Enemy of the People* at Tumanishvili Theatre

Jauss believes that "the reader of a new work (one can easily extend this postulate to a theatre audience watching a new performance) has to perceive it not only within the narrow horizon of his literary expectations but also within the wider horizon of his experience of life"(Jauss

1974). Similarly, the “horizon of his experience of life” influences the decisions of the theatre director when working on a performance. Some events that have taken place in Georgian reality have had such a deep impact on society that they have turned into “experiences of life” that we Georgians carry all the time and everywhere with us. The Girgvliani murder case that everyone in Georgia heard of and was moved by, is one such negative experience. Sandro Girgvliani, a 28 year old man, was kidnapped, beaten and killed in 2006 by a group of senior law enforcement officers (the European Court of Human Rights 2011). The case has become a key political issue because of the allegations that the investigation covered up links to this murder case with Interior Ministry officials, and also with the wife of the Interior Minister, Vano Merabishvili, (Online 2011). Opposition party leaders demanded Merabishvili’s resignation in connection with this case; protesters rallied outside the court, condemning the biased trial (Rimple 2006). Girgvliani’s mother, Irina Enukidze, was the main initiator of the protests. “This government tortured and killed my son [...]. They are the murderers and must be punished”, she repeated over and over again (Gulua 2006) and her warning “if you do not take immediate measures, they will murder your children as well” (Imedi TV News 2006) sounds much like Doctor Stockmann’s: if we do not change the water supply now, we will all be poisoned. Enukidze received threats from government officials and was even offered money for her silence. Nevertheless, similarly to Doctor Stockmann, she kept on fighting. All this turned out to have an impact on her health and Enukidze died in 2007, a year after her son was murdered. In 2011 the European Court of Human rights concluded that the Girgvliani case investigations “manifestly lacked the independence, impartiality, objectivity and thoroughness” (Online 2011). However, this decision did not change anything for the family that was destroyed morally and physically by the lack of the rule of law in the country. In my opinion, Kavtaradze, by letting the doctor die at the end of the performance, drew parallels to the death of Irina Enukidze. The message of the director to the audience was that death was an inevitable fate for those who dared to fight for justice in his contemporary Georgia.

Kavtaradze has applied a number of theatrical devices in the performance. Most of the theatre directors who have worked on Ibsen’s *An Enemy of the People* around the globe, seem to have chosen either to localize it and give the characters and places local names, known to their audience instead of Norwegian ones, or to confront theatre goers by foreignness, to maintain foreign geographical and proper names (Fischer-Lichte, Gronau et al. 2011). Gogi Kavtaradze seems to have found a “golden medium”. In his performance, characters lack both

names and surnames. Nothing indicates whether the action is taking place in Georgia or in any other country. When addressing each other, instead of names, characters use either indicators of their social positions as “Doctor”, “Mr. Mayor”, “Mr. Editor”, or indicators of family relation. For example the doctor and mayor call each other “brother”. In addition, both props and costumes by Ana Kalatozishvili are neutral and do not cause associations with any particular country or culture.



Fig. 28. *An Enemy of The People*

However, Kavtaradze updated Ibsen’s play in his performance. Modern technology is frequently used on the stage. When the doctor is telling others about his findings, he opens his PC and invites everyone to look at the screen. In the part of the performance, when the mayor lets his brother know that it would cost a fortune to

change everything, the director has found an interesting solution: the mayor takes a mobile phone out of his pocket, dials a number, says: “regarding the issue we have discussed yesterday. Could you tell me how much all this would cost, total?” And lets his brother listen to the answer of his question. The expressions of the doctor change. First his face shows astonishment and then concern. And then he asks, surprised: “two million?” (note, that he does not mention currency: Georgian lari or Norwegian Kroner, that is also part of the strategy the director has chosen). In the scene when the editor and workers of the editorial office hear about the news, the first idea that occurs to them is that “all this needs a good PR campaign”. Costumes, as I have written above, are neutral, not only in terms of ethnic origin, but also in terms of time. They certainly do not belong to the era when Ibsen wrote “An Enemy of the People”. Although some of the costumes are retro, one can still meet thousands

of people anywhere in the world nowadays wearing similar clothes. In a showcase of an international theatre festival held in Tbilisi in 2010 in the framework of which Kavtaradze's *An Enemy of the People* was presented, it is confirmed that "in this production time and place are intentionally left unspecified and the characters are without discernable nationality, stressing the fact that this story can take place anywhere and anytime, and thus in the process deepens its effect on the audience" (Theatre 2010).

Robert Sturua in his *Doctor Stockmann* staged in 1972 placed marionettes among the actors performing roles of people participating in the mass meeting of the town's people. Kavtaradze used a different theatrical device in the scene of a meeting of town's people and placed actors among the audience. Many spectators of the performance found themselves sitting next to either supporters or opponents of the doctor. Actors placed among the audience were commenting on the doctor's speech, protesting, applauding and even shouting (კიკნაველიძე 2010). Kavtaradze seems to have had a similar goal as Sturua when using this theatrical device in this particular scene of the performance: to make the audience realize that they were part of not just a performance staged in a theatre, but also of a much bigger performance taking place in real life; that the doctor was not just a fictional character, but a representation of many Georgians who were fighting for justice without any success because of the conditions prevailing in contemporary Georgia.

In 2011 *A Doll's House* was staged in თავისუფალი თეატრი (Liberty Theatre), directed by a young theatre director Ioane Khutsishvili (იოანე ხუციშვილი). It is worth mentioning that *A Doll's House* was staged in the Democratic republic of Georgia earlier as well, in 2004 at თეატრალური სარდაფი. However, *ნორა ანუ თოჯინების სახლი* directed by G. Butkhuzi did not gain popularity among the audience and theatre critics and only a few performances were shown at the theatre. As for the latest Georgian version of *A Doll's House*, that was a graduate work of Khutsishvili, it is still an active performance, frequently discussed and analyzed in the Georgian periodicals and well received by the audience of the Liberty Theatre, mostly consisting of young people.

A Doll's House is a performance in two acts that lasts almost for three hours. The leading roles are performed by Tamuna Nikoladze (თამუნა ნიკოლაძე) as Nora, Giorgi Zanguri (გიორგი ზანგური) as Helmer, Bacho Chachibaia (ბაჩო ჩაჩიბაია) as Dr Rank, Maiko Khornauli (მაიკო ხორნაული) as Anna-Maria, Devi Bibileishvili (დევი ბიბილეიშვილი) as Krogstad and Nino Falfani (ნინო ფალფანი) as Fru Linde. Those are guest actors invited from different theatres, e.g. the Rustaveli Theatre, L. Meskhishvili Theatre, etc. Khutsishvili's performance differs from its Georgian predecessors thanks to its original and symbolically loaded stage design by Teo Kukhianidze. The stage



Fig. 29. *A Doll's House* at the Liberty Theatre

consists of two parts, resembling a huge sewing machine. The upper part of the stage is the sewing machine itself, while the other part of the stage looks like drawers of the sewing machine where threads and needles used to be kept. However, instead of sewing materials, there are people in these drawers, talking to each other, dreaming, hiding or looking for a way out.

Costumes are part of this set. The dark outfit that the actors are wearing, have white tacking. The costumes are not ready yet, they are still being sewed. Anna-Maria, who is almost always present on the stage and represents the second Nora, or more precisely, her future



Fig. 30. *A Doll's House* at the Liberty Theatre

Nora, during the whole performance is busy taking measurements and sewing clothes for the main characters. Khutsishvili, in a telephone interview, explained to me that he chose to use this stage design in order to underline that none of the characters of Ibsen's drama are "ready made", none of them have managed to realize themselves and become mature, full-grown people (Khutsishvili 2013).

Most theatre critics agree that Khutsishvili did not stage *A Doll's House* as a feminist drama, agitating for women's rights. On the contrary, by associating Ibsen's work with the problems posed in contemporary Georgian society, he focused on moral and ethical questions (მეგრელიძე 2012). All the characters of the play are given characteristics that relate them to the Georgian reality. Even though *A Doll's House* is not a political drama, it depicts problems that were caused or aggravated by the political and economic hardships of the 1990s in Georgia. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the majority of Georgians lost their jobs. Georgian men, deprived of the ability to support their families materially, lost not only their roles as providers of the families, but also the respect of their family members. As a result, many of them, failing to break a deadlock, turned into alcoholics or drug addicts. According to statistics, most of the men abusing alcohol in 2010 were 45-54 year old, i.e. the generation that suffered the aftermath of the political and economic problems in the 1990s (ინტერნეტკონფერენცია 2011). Furthermore, the percentage of drug addicts was particularly high in the first years of the Democratic Republic of Georgia, when paramilitary forces, members of which were later found guilty of "high treason, organizing terrorist acts, murders and other grave crimes" were ruling the country (1996). Khutsishvili's Helmer is a representative of the "lost generation", as is called the generation of Georgians who failed to realize themselves because of radical changes in the 1990s. For many years, Helmer hardly earned enough to support his family. That is why he is concerned about every penny that Nora uses. Even though nobody mentions that Helmer was addicted to drugs in the past and drug rehabilitation was the reason why he had to go abroad for a year, indirect comments made by various characters make it clear that this was so. Furthermore, at the end of the first act, as soon as some problems arise, Helmer returns home, obviously under the influence of drugs, thus shocking his wife. One gets the impression that Helmer knows everything: the fact that Nora has borrowed money, that she forged the signature of her father, and that Krogstad blackmailed her. However, he does not say anything about it since if the truth is revealed, his reputation will be damaged. The moment he "discovers the truth", Helmer is not surprised,

but angry because he fears that more people will hear about those circumstances. All in all, he is portrayed as a feeble and egocentric man, who, as soon as problems emerge, instead of finding a solution, escapes from them and turns to drugs.

As for Nora, she is the opposite of previous Georgian Noras. The manner of her acting is artificial. She talks, smiles, moves, and even cries like a doll. Considering the nicknames Nora is called by her husband, the handle wheel of the sewing machine that presents an important part of the stage

decoration, gains a new meaning and awakens associations of a circular cage for small animals, which rotates vertically as the animal runs at the bottom. Nora, like a squirrel, is imprisoned in this cage, unable to find a way out of the cursed circle. This and many other details of the scenery, for example a table decorated with iron bars, a tarantella dress resembling a cage, etc., symbolize the situation Nora finds herself in, a labyrinth from which she cannot escape (მეგრელიძე 2012). The action develops against a background of theme from music composed by a Lithuanian composer Giedrius Puskunigis', that was used by Eimuntas

Nekrošius in his *Othello*

(ბუხრიკიძე 2010). . This music resembles sounds made by mechanical toys and fits well with the falsehood and lies of the main characters of the play.

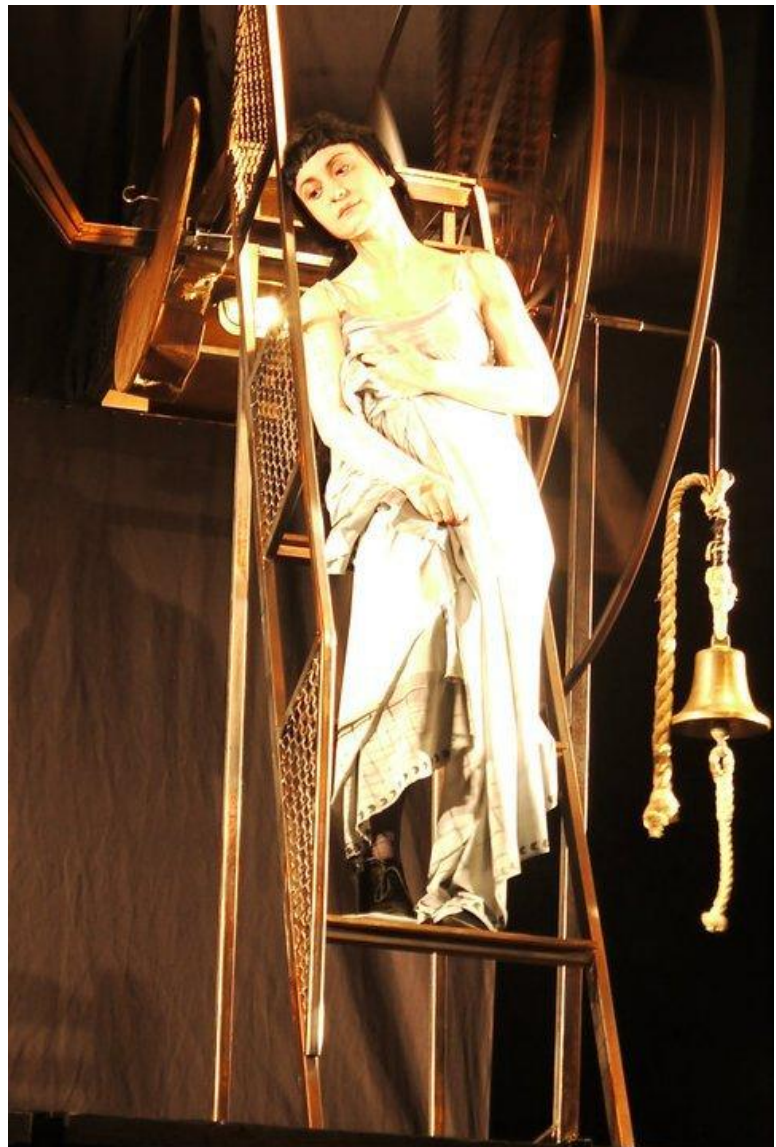


Fig. 31. T.Nikolaishvili as Nora

Furthermore, there is one more element that relates Nora to Georgian women. Gender based violence is considered to be among the most important social problems in Georgia (2011). In 2005, the NGO Caucasus Women's Research and Consulting Network (CWN) interviewed 1,000 women throughout Georgia. The results of the study showed that 22.2 percent of respondents had been physically abused by their husbands at least once, while 5 percent reported frequent abuse (2010). Interestingly, often Georgian women do not realize that they are being mistreated. They believe that violent conduct from their husbands is normal, traditional behaviour (Kvachadze 2012). Khutsishvili's Nora is also a victim of home violence. Helmer, in both acts, abuses her physically and morally. However, whenever he hits or attempts to choke Nora, the couple act as if nothing has happened. Nora does not protest at such treatment. And Helmer, hitting his wife or shaking her, after a second smiles at her or calls her nicknames. I believe that Khutsishvili introduced the theme of home violence in the performance in order to draw parallels with the Georgian reality and to encourage his audience to associate themselves or their acquaintances with Ibsenian characters.



Fig. 32. T. Nikoleishvili as Nora and G. Zanguri as Helmer

There are many details in Khutsishvili's version that differ from the original play by Ibsen, e.g. the fact that in the performance Nora is forced to have an intercourse with Krogstad. The final of the performance is also interesting and original, raising many questions. In the last

scene, Helmer violently beats a human size doll, dressed in Nora's dress, while the real, awakened Nora runs to the bottom of the stage, wondering in the labyrinth, failing to find a way out. Each member of the audience can interpret the final as they would like. Some think that Helmer killed Nora, some believe that she turned mad, while others consider that she physically stayed with her husband, while mentally escaped from reality. Khutsishvili, in a telephone interview, told me that it was his intention to give his audiences possibility of interpretation and that is why he chose to have "an open final".

There are many details in Khutsishvili's version that differ from the original play by Ibsen, e.g. the fact that in the performance Nora is forced to have intercourse with Krogstad. The final of the performance is also interesting and original, raising many questions. In the last scene, Helmer violently beats a human size doll, dressed in Nora's dress, while the real, awakened Nora runs to the bottom of the stage, wandering in the labyrinth, and failing to find a way out. Each member of the audience can interpret the finale as they would like. Some think that Helmer killed Nora, some believe that she turned mad, while others consider that she physically stayed with her husband, while mentally she escaped from reality. Khutsishvili, in a telephone interview, told me that it was his intention to give his audiences the possibility of deciding and that is why he chose to have "an open finale".

To conclude, after having examined *The Pretenders* staged at the Rustavi Theatre in 1998, *An Enemy of the People* staged at the Tumanishvili Theatre in 2010 and *A Doll's House* staged at the Liberty Theatre in 2011, makes me think that Ibsen's dramas are still and effectively used in Georgia as a weapon for fighting against socio-political injustice. Furthermore, almost all the theatrical devices Kavtaradze and Khutsishvili have used in their performances seem to serve the same purpose: to draw parallels with our contemporary Georgian situation and to make modern Georgian audience not feel at a distance from "bourgeois dramas of the mid-nineteenth century" (Gronau 2011:215) but rather to identify themselves and their co-patriots with its characters. Kavtaradze staged *The Pretenders* in order to depict the political crisis of Georgia in the late 1990s, and a struggle for authority among Georgian pseudo patriots. Khutsishvili's *A Doll's House* does not concentrate on political issues. However, it portrays the aftermath of the political and economic crisis in Georgia, illustrating the grievous consequences Georgian society suffered from the tragic events that happened in the 1990s. *An Enemy of the People* of the Tumanishvili Theatre is an

excellent example of an artist's response to the restriction of artistic expression by government officials. What makes this performance particularly exciting for me is the fact that the theatre director used a government grant to sharply criticize the government.

General Summing up and Conclusion

In my thesis I have presented three periods of Ibsen's reception in Georgia: 1. when the country was a part of the Russian Empire. 2. when the country became a part of the USSR and 3. and in the Democratic Republic Georgia, since 1991. I have focused on different fields within these historical phases, such as the printing press, translations and theatre performances. My research led me to the conclusion that ruling regimes and ideologies had an obvious influence on Ibsen's reception in my country. Ibsen's works were often used as a weapon for fighting against political injustice. The political impact on Ibsen's reception in Georgia differed not only from one phase to another, but also from field to field in the same historical period. Certain fields sometimes showed different patterns in the same phase, depending on the radical changes taking place in the political and social system of the country.

It seems that even with undergoing a censorship, Ibsen's works were of pivotal important for Georgian society. During the Russian tutelage, leading themes in Georgia were liberation from the Russian Empire, restoration of the autocephaly of the Georgian church and the prevention of a suppression of the Georgian language. Consequently, Georgian publicists and theatre directors tended to concentrate on these problems. Even though, due to the strict censorship, they could not express their opinion directly, they applied symbols and metaphors to their works. The 'horizons of expectations' of Georgian intellectuals encompassed patriotism and therefore they looked for the same motifs in the works of foreign authors. Ibsen's biography and an analysis of his works in Georgia during the Russian tutelage was often used for expressing protest against the ruling political injustice and for reviving the Georgian national conscienceness.

The Georgian theatre under the Russian Empire, besides being a cultural institution, served the purpose of illuminating its audiences, mostly consisting of representatives of the lower social class, and preserving the Georgian language, that was banned elsewhere. Furthermore, the Georgian theatre of the time became a tribune for spreading political opinion. Ibsen's plays were an important part of the theatre repertoire of Georgia under the Russian Empire. Those dramas that either bore or could be given a political context were particularly popular in that period. It is worth mentioning, though, that the mise-en-scene of the performances often differed from the text. For example Georgian audiences understood Doctor Stockmann

as a hero of liberation, while this is not necessarily the right interpretation of *An Enemy of the People*. What I find most interesting in this period is that even the plays that used to be performed and discussed in terms of gender rights in other cultures, were given a political context in Georgia. For example, Nora who dared to fight for her liberation was juxtaposed with Georgians who put up with the Russian tutelage. Fru Alving was associated with those who made compromise and lost their national independence as a result.

As for translations of Ibsen's dramas, during the Russian tutelage mostly realistic plays were relayed into Georgian, probably due to the fact that a utilitarian view of art was proclaimed in the period. However, historical plays depicting a struggle for liberation would obviously interest Georgians whose main concerns were independence and reviving national consciousness. I believe that historical dramas by Ibsen were not translated into Georgian until the late 1990s due to the fact that Russian and later Soviet officials feared that such plays would awaken a national spirit in Georgians and, therefore the censors excluded them from the list of plays that were permitted to be staged in Georgia. Translations of that time included alterations that caused a change of conceptual and subtextual information. Considering that most of the translators who relayed Ibsen into Georgian were progressive thinkers, politically active and known for their anti-Tsarist ideas, leads me to believe that the reason why they chose to translate Ibsen's works was that the latter addressed problems posed in their contemporary reality. Therefore, alterations in the translations that caused a change of conceptual or subtextual information of the original were the result of either the work of the censorship committee of Georgia or of Russia, or alterations introduced in the mediate translations.

During the Soviet era, Georgian literary criticism was largely influenced by communist ideology. Consequently, Ibsen's reception was also limited within a "Socialist/Marxist" context and was nurtured by communist propaganda. Almost all the articles on the Norwegian playwright and his oeuvre by Soviet Georgian researchers comprised methods approved by the Communist Party Secretariat, such as quoting communist leaders and the works of Marx-Engels philosophers and criticizing Ibsen's heroes for their anti-communist ideas. Nevertheless, some of the authors still managed to allude to the existing parallels between Ibsen's works and the Soviet reality.

As for translations of Ibsen's works in the Soviet Republic of Georgia, they were made by professional translator who, unlike their predecessors, did not choose to translate Ibsen's works for political purposes but rather for their literary value. Interestingly, alongside with the realistic dramas of Ibsen, also the symbolic and historical dramas of the Norwegian playwright attracted the attention of Georgian translators. However, paradoxically, Soviet Georgian translations of Ibsen's dramas were much closer to the original than those made during the Russian tutelage. It seems that translations were less censored in the Soviet Union than the printing press, since I could not trace any cases of censorship or ideological changes in those translations.

The Soviet Georgian Theatre shows a different pattern of development before and after the 'thaw'. Similarly, Soviet Georgian productions of Ibsen's plays significantly differed from each other depending on in which period they were staged. The earliest Soviet performances were of a deductive character, showing the audience what grievous consequences an immoral life could lead to. Performances that appeared after the 1960s, were less loaded ideologically and more creative. The most important Soviet productions of Ibsen's plays were created after the 'thaw', when the theatre gained political influence and became "an arena for expressing national emotions which could not be represented or performed elsewhere"(Andersen and Nygaard 2009:41). Consequently, performances of Ibsen's plays staged in this period prepared and anticipated radical national political changes.

Studies of Ibsen's reception in China and Iran have underlined the political function of Ibsen's works in the periods of resistance, showing that afterwards artistic/aesthetic perspective took over from the political. In Georgia there is the same pattern of development in Ibsen's reception in the printing press and translations. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, in the Democratic Republic of Georgia, Ibsen's works have interested only theatre and literary scholars. Most of the articles published on the Norwegian playwright in the Georgian printing press began to focus on philosophical issues posed in or the aesthetic value of Ibsen's works. Contemporary Georgian translations of Ibsen's plays are no longer politically loaded. However, Ibsen's reception in the contemporary Georgian theatre does not follow a traditional story of development. Unlike the situation in other countries (Andersen and Nygaard 2009:41), Ibsen's dramas have not lost their importance in the Independent Republic of Georgia after the emotions were transformed into political action. First decades after Georgia restored its independence, many serious problems emerged in the country, such as

economic and political crises, civil war, etc. Furthermore, the repression of theatre directors and actors has been even stronger in the Democratic Republic of Georgia than ever. Therefore, it is not surprising that Georgian performances based on Ibsen's works gained even more importance in exploring and criticizing the political situation.

To conclude, Ibsen's reception in Georgia has an interesting and politically loaded history. On the one hand, due to the fact that Georgia was a part of the USSR, Ibsen's reception in my country and in other post-Soviet countries have much in common. However, on the other hand, there are some aspects that make Ibsen's reception in Georgia unique. All in all, my research has led me to the conclusion that Ibsen was especially important in Georgia in periods of change. The Georgian stage was the place where Ibsen's plays were the most effectively used as a weapon for fighting against political injustice. Contemporary Georgian theatre directors are still interested in Ibsen's works and are planning to stage new productions of the Norwegian playwright. However, the reason why the role of the theatre productions of Ibsen's plays in present day Georgia has been different from the situation in other, former Soviet republics, and especially in the Baltic countries, seems to be due to the fact that independence did not bring stability and economic prosperity to Georgia and, moreover, new, internal and external conflicts were opened in the country after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The example of the other post-Soviet countries proved that the moment public emotions were transformed into political action, the theatre lost its importance (Andersen and Nygaard 2009). For this reason, one can suppose that the same can happen in Georgia after the political situation becomes settled there. However, the history of Ibsen's reception in Georgia until now provides one more piece of evidence of how Ibsen's plays can travel between, and merge with cultures.

Appendix

Appendix I

A Chronological list of Georgian Translations of Ibsen's works

1901- *პატარა ეიოლფი* (*Little Eyolf*), Trans. I. Akhalshenishvili (ი. ახალშენიშვილი/ინ-ანი), მოამბე (Herald), part 1- N5, pp. 29-62; part 2- N7, pp.81-106; part 3- N8, pp.95-114.

1903- *ხალხის მტერი ანუ ექიმი შტოკმანი* (*An Enemy of the People*), Transl. I. Polumordvinov (ივ. პოლუმორდვინოვი), მოამბე (Herald), part. I- N 4, pp. 31-55; part 2- N5, pp.35-62; part 3- N6, pp. 25-51; part 4- N7, pp.35-58; part 5- N8, pp.57-82.

1904- *მოჩვენებანი* (*Ghosts*), Transl. Ia Ekaladze (ია ეკალაძე), მოამბე 1904, part 1- N7, pp.1-37; part 2- N8, pp.17-66.

1907- *მოჩვენებანი* (*Ghosts*), Trans. Valerian Gunia (ვალერიან გუნია), read at literary evening held in სახალხო სახლი.

1912- *გარეული იხვი* (*The Wild Duck*), Trans. Gutsa Namoradze (გუცა ნამორაძე), სახალხო გაზეთი N665-667. 1958- *მოჩვენებანი* (*Ghosts*), *ჰედა გაბლერი* (*Hedda Gabler*), Transl. and introduction by Akaki Gelovani (აკაკი გელოვანი), *Tbilisi, საქპოლიგრაფსამ. სტ. N2*.

1974-ჰენრიკ იბსენი, *დრამები* (Henrik Ibsen: *Dramas*). Contents: *ბრანდი* (*Brand*) / მთარგმნ. ვ. ბეწუკელი (transl. by V. Betsukeli), *პიერ გიუნტი* (*Peer Gynt*), *მოჩვენებანი* (*Ghosts*), *ხალხის მტერი* (*An Enemy of the People*), *ჰედა გაბლერი* (*Hedda Gabler*) / მთარგმნ. აკ. გელოვანი (transl. by Akaki Gelovani); *ნორა, ანუ თოჯინების სახლი* (*A Doll's House*) / მთარგმნ. ელ. ბეწუკელი (transl. by El.Betsukeli), შესავალი წერილი და შენიშვნები დ.ლაშქარაძისა (Introductory note and remarks by D. Lashkaradze), Tbilisi, საბჭოთა საქართველო (Soviet Georgia).

1988- კატალინა; ხუროთმოძღვარი სოლნესი : [ნორვეგიელი მწერლის დრამები] (*Cataline, The Master Builder: [Dramas of the Norwegian Playwright]*), Tbilisi, საბჭოთა საქართველო (Soviet Georgia). Transl. from German by Akaki Gelovani (აკაკი გელოვანი) and Vakhtang Betsukeli (ვახტანგ ბეჭუკელი),

1988- კეისარი და გალილეელი (*Emperor and Galilean*), Transl. Bachana Bregvadze (ბაჩანა ბრეგვაძე), საუნჯე N1, pp.176-236; N2, pp.128-176; N3, pp.161-192.

1988-1989- გარეული იხვი (*The Wild Duck*), Transl. Bachana Bregvadze (ბაჩანა ბრეგვაძე), საბჭოთა ხელოვნება (Soviet Art) 1988, N11, pp.142-156; 1989, N1, pp.131-154.

1991- ზღვის ასული (*The Lady from the Sea*), Transl. Bachana Bregvadze (ბაჩანა ბრეგვაძე), ხელოვნება (Art) N8, pp.135-174

1992- როსმერსჰოლმი (*Rosmersholm*), Transl. Bachana Bregvadze (ბაჩანა ბრეგვაძე), საუნჯე, N1, pp.192-253

1994- ჰენრიკ იბსენი: დრამები, ტომი 1 (Henrik Ibsen, *dramas*, vol.1). Contents: კეისარი და გალილეელი (*Emperor and Galilean*), საზოგადოების ბურჯნი (*Pillars of Society*), თოჯინების სახლი (*A Doll's House*), მოჩვენებანი (*Ghosts*), and ხალხის მტერი (*An Enemy of the People*), Tbilisi, Irmisa (ირმისა). Transl. from Russian and French by Bachana Bregvadze (ბაჩანა ბრეგვაძე),

1995- ჰენრიკ იბსენი: დრამები, ტომი 2 (Henrik Ibsen, *dramas*, vol.2). Contents: გარეული იხვი (*The Wild Duck*), როსმერსჰოლმი (*Rosmersholm*), ზღვის ასული (*The Lady from the Sea*), ჰედა გაბლერი (*Hedda Gabler*), მშენებელი სოლნესი (*The Master Builder*), პატარა ეიოლფი (*Little Eyolf*), როცა ჩვენ, მკვდრები, ვიღვიძებთ (*When We Dead Awaken*), Tbilisi, Irmisa (ირმისა). Transl. from Russian and French by Bachana Bregvadze (ბაჩანა ბრეგვაძე),

Appendix II

A Chronological list of Ibsen's plays on the Georgian Stage

1898- *A Doll's House* (თოჯინების სახლი), directed by Lado-Alexi Meskhishvili (ლადო ალექსი-მესხიშვილი), ქუთაისის თეატრი, premiere on February 20, 1898, devoted to Nino Chkheidze (ნინო ჩხეიძე). The director Lado-Alexi Meskhishvili as Helmer.

1903- *A Doll's House* (თოჯინების სახლი), directed by Valerian Gunia (ვალერიან გუნია), მსახიობთა ამხანაგობა, თბილისი. Premiere: March 20, 1903. Trans. V. Gunia (ვ.გუნია) and Avksenti Tsagareli (ავქსენტი ცაგარელი).

1903- 1905, *An Enemy of the People* (ექიმი შტოკმანი), ქართული დრამატული საზოგადოების დასი (The Theatre Group of The Georgian Drama Society), directed by Akaki Tsereteli (აკაკი წერეთელი) and Kote Meskhi (კოტე მესხი), Tbilisi. Kote Meskhi as Doctor Stockman. Trans. Ivane Polumordvinov (ივ. პოლუმორდვინოვი).

1904- *An Enemy of the People* (ექიმი შტოკმანი), მსახიობთა ამხანაგობა, directed by Valerian Gunia (ვალერიან გუნია), Premiere on 11.03.1904.

1904 (20.10)- *An Enemy of the People* (ექიმი შტოკმანი), directed by Kote Meskhi (კოტე მესხი), სახაზინო თეატრი, ქართული დრამატული დასი, Trans. By Ivane Polumordvinov (ივანე პოლუმორდვინოვი), K. Meskhi (კ.მესხი) as Doctor Stockman, K. Javakhovisa (ქ.ჯავახოვისა) as Mrs. Stokman, K. Kargaretelisa (ქ.კარგარეთელისა) as Petra, B.Gedevanov (ბ.გედევანოვი) as Mayor, etc.

1905- *An Enemy of the People* (ექიმი შტოკმანი), ქუთაისის თეატრი (the Kutaisi Theater), directed by Vl. Aleksi-Meskhishvili (ვლ. ალექსი-მესხიშვილი). The director performed the role of Doctor Stockman.

1906- *Ghosts* (მოჩვენებანი), თეატრალური ამხანაგობის დასი, თბილისი, Premiere: 17.6.1906, directed by Valerian Gunia (ვალერიან გუნია). Valerian Gunia as Oswald,

Ivanidze (ივანიძე) as Fru Alving, G.Gedevanov (გ.გედევანოვი) as Pastor Manders, V.Abashidze (ვ.აბაშიძე) as Engstrand, Kargareteli (კარგარეთელი) as Regina.

1906 (July)- *Ghosts* (*მოჩვენებანი*), directed by Vl.Aleksi-Meskhishvili (ლადო მესხიშვილი), Sukhumi.

1910- *Ghosts* (*მოჩვენებანი*), დრამატული საზოგადოების დასი. Trans. V.Gunia (ვ.გუნია).

1911- (6.11), *Ghosts* (*მოჩვენებანი*), directed by Vl. Aleksi-Meskhishvili (ვლ. ალექსი-მესხიშვილი)- also performing the role of Oswald, devoted to N. Javakhishvili (ნ. ჯავახიშვილი)- the performer of the role of Fru Alving, Valerian Gunia (ვალერიან გუნია) as Engstrand.

1914- *Pillars of Society* (*საზოგადოების ბურჯნი*), ქართული დრამატული საზოგადოების დასი (10.11.1914, 30.11.1914). Translated by Alexandre Imedashvili (ალექსანდრე იმედაშვილი).

1937-1938- *Ghosts* (*მოჩვენებანი*), თბილისის სანკულტურის თეატრი, directed by Shalva Agsabadze (შალვა აგსაბაძე), Nino Chkheidze (ნინო ჩხეიძე) as Fru Alving and M.Mdivani (მ.მდივანი). trans. Grigol Nutsubidze (გრიგოლ ნუცუბიძე).

1967- *Ghosts* (*მოჩვენებანი*), ლადო მესხიშვილის სახელობის ქუთაისის სახელმწიფო თეატრი (Lado Meskhishvili Kutaisi Theater), directed by M.Imedadze(მ.იმედაძე), premiere on 17.10.1967, Trans. by აკაკი გელოვანი (Akaki Gelovani), T.Laskhishvili (თ.ლასხიშვილი) as Fru Alving, A Kherkhadze (ა.ხერხაძე) as Oswald, G.Natsvlishvili (გ.ნაცვლიშვილი) as Pastor Manders, V.Gventsadze (ვ.გვენცაძე) as Engstrand, Ts. Meskhi (ც.მესხი) as Regina.

1972- *An Enemy of the People* (*ექიმი სტოკმანი*), რუსთაველის თეატრი (Rustaveli Theater), directed by R. Sturua (რ.სტურუა), Gogi Gegechkori (გოგი გეგეჩკორი) as

Doctor Stockman, S.Khancheli (ს.ყანჭელი) as Mrs. Stockman, M.Maglakelidze (მ.მაღლაკელიძე) as Petra, Erosi Manjgaladze (ეროსი მანჯგალაძე) as the Mayor, etc.

1976- *Ghosts* (*მოჩვენებანი*), Marjanishvili Theater (მარჯანიშვილის თეატრი), directed by Temur Chkheidze (თემურ ჩხეიძე), Trans. By Grigol Nutsubidze (გრიგოლ ნუცუბიძე), ვერიკო ანჯაფარიძე (Veriko Anjaparidze) as Fru Alving, ნოდარ მგალობლიშვილი (Nodar Mgaloblishvili) as Osvald, აკაკი ვასაძე (Akaki Vasadze) as Pastor Manders, სოფიკო ჭიაურელი (Sophiko Chiaureli) as Regina, გივი ბერიკაშვილი (Givi Berikashvili) as Aslaksen.

1988- *The Pretenders* (*ბრძოლა ტახტისთვის*), სოხუმის კ.გამსახურდიას სახელობის ქართული დრამატული თეატრი (Sukhumi Theater named after K. Gamsakhurdia), directed by გოგი ქავთარაძე (გოგი ქავთარაძე) and T. Koshkadze (თ.კოშკაძე), Dima Jaiani(დ.ჯაიანი) as Håkon Håkonsson, N.Bekauri (ნ.ბექაური) as Skule Jarl, S.Pachkoria (ს.პაჭკორია) as Bishop Nikolas.

2004- *A Doll's House* (*ნორა ანუ თოჯინების სახლი*), თეატრალური სარდაფი, directed by Gulnara Butkhuzi (გულნარა ბუთხუზი), Varlam Korshia (ვარლამ კორშია) as Helmer.

2010- *An Enemy of the People* (*ხალხის მტერი*), directed by Gogi Kavtaradze (გოგი ქავთარაძე), Nodar Mgaloblishvili as Doctor Stockmann, Giorgi Nakashidze as the Mayor, Mzia Arabuli, Ana Matuashvili, Rezo Tavartkiladze, Gia Abesalashvili, Paata Baratashvili, Beka Jumutia, Giga Dundua, etc. Transl. by Bachana Bregvadze.

2011 (premiere 26 May)- *A Doll's House* (*თოჯინების სახლი*), თავისუფალი თეატრი, directed by Ioane Khutsishvili (იოანე ხუციშვილი), Cast: Tamuna Nikoladze (თამუნა ნიკოლაძე) as Nora, Giorgi Zanguri (გიორგი ზანგური), Bacho Chachibaia (ბაჩო ჩაჩიბაია), Maiko Khornauli(მაიკო ხორნაული), Devi Bibileishvili (დევი ბიბილეიშვილი), Nino Falfani (ნინო ფალფანი).

Photos And Illustrations

Figure 1. Portrait of Ibsen. Source: Kvali 1897, front page

Figure 2. Valerian Gunia, Photo by Al. Roinishvili. Source: <http://burusi.wordpress.com/2009/07/25/valerian-gunia/#jp-carousel-28331>, accessed on January 5, 2011

figure 3. criminal record of Javahisvhili, Source: <http://burusi.files.wordpress.com/2009/07/6e1839be18398e183aee18394e18398e1839ae183afe18390e18395e18390e183aee18398e183a8e18395e18398e1839ae18398e183a1e1839ee18398e183a0.jpg>, accessed on January 12, 2012

Figure 4. Ivane Akhalshenishvili. Source: თეატრი და ცხოვრება 1914, vol. 16.

Figure 5. Ivane Polumordvinov. Source: მთა რგ მ ნ ე ლ ი : [პორტრე ტე ბ ი], თე ა ტ რ ი და ც ხ ო ვ რ ე ბ ა 1914., N14. გვ .5-6

Fig. 6. Chart of the relative distribution of Ibsen's plays on Georgian stages under the Russian Empire.

Figure 7, Announcement: premiere of *Nora*. Source: ცნობის ფურცელი 1903, 2102:1.

Figure 8. Nutsa Chkeidze, the first Georgian Nora. Source: Georgian State Museum of Theatre, Cinema, Music and Choreography, ფ-567.

Figure 9. Konstantine Gamsakhurdia. Source: <http://burusi.files.wordpress.com/2009/07/39.jpg>

Figure 10. Chart over the relative proportions of translations of Ibsen's plays.

Figure 11. A Petre Otskheli Costume for *The Master Builder* at the Korsh Theatre. Source: Georgian National Gallery, Exhibition Petre Otskheli, August 2012

Figure 12. A Petre Otskheli Stage Design of *The Master Builder* at the Korsh Theatre. Source: Georgian National Gallery. Exhibition Petre Otskheli. August 2012

Figure 13. Order to shoot Petre Otskheli. Source: The Archive of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia.

Figure 14. *Doctor Stockmann* at the Rustaveli Theatre, A. Source: Georgian State Museum of Theatre, Cinema, Music and Choreography

Figure 15. *Doctor Stockmann* at Rustaveli Theatre. B. Source: Georgian State Museum of Theatre, Cinema, Music and Choreography

Figure 16. *Ghosts* at Marjanishvili Theatre, A. Source: Georgian State Museum of Theatre, Cinema, Music and Choreography

Figure 17. *Ghosts* at Marjanishvili Theatre. B. Source: Georgian State Museum of Theatre, Cinema, Music and Choreography

Figure 18. A. Vasadze as Priest Manders. Source: Georgian State Museum of Theatre, Cinema, Music and Choreography

Figure 19. *The Pretenders*, A. Source: . საბჭოთა ხელოვნება 1: 2-9.

Figure 20. *The Pretenders* at Sukhumi Theatre. B. Source: . საბჭოთა ხელოვნება 1: 2-9.

Figure 21. Pastor Manders and Regina, Marjanishvili Theatre. Source: Georgian State Museum of Theatre, Cinema, Music and Choreography

Figure 22. Bachana Bregvadze. Source: <http://www.nplg.gov.ge/bios/en/00000539/>

Figure 23. *An Enemy of the People* at Tumanishvili Theatre. Source: Tumanishvili Theater archives

Figure 24. Kavtaradze at a protest meeting in May 2011, Source: http://georgianpeoples.com/print.php?lang=geo&news_id=1380, Accessed on 10.09.2012

Figure 25. Dispersing the protest action on May 26, 2011, Source: <http://gardabaniherald.blogspot.no/2011/05/26.html>, Accessed on 16.10.2012

Figure 26. Dolidze informing the press on her dismissal, Source: http://rustavi2.com.ge/news/news_text.php?rec_start=48&rec_start_nav=0&id_news=33575&pg=1&srch_w=&im=main&srch=1&ct=25&wth=&l=0&ddd= Accessed on 19.11.2012

Figure 27. Final scene of *An Enemy of the People* at Tumanishvili Theatre. Source: Tumanishvili Theatre Archives

Figure 28. *An Enemy of the People* at Tumanishvili Theatre. Source: Tumanishvili Theatre Archives.

Figure 29. *A Doll's House* at the Liberty Theatre. A. Source: The Liberty Theatre Archives

Figure 30. *A Doll's House* at the Liberty Theatre. B. Source: The Liberty Theatre Archives

Figure 31. T.Nikolaishvili as Nora. Source: The Liberty Theatre Archives

Fig. 32. T. Nikoleishvili as Nora and G. Zanguri as Helmer. Source: The Liberty Theatre Archives

Works Cited

- (1902). "იურევიდან გვატყობინებენ..." ცნობის ფურცელი **1838**: 2.
- (1903). "ნორა", პრემიერა." ცნობის ფურცელი **2012**.
- (1907). "ივანე ახალშენიშვილი (ნეკროლოგი)." ნაკადული **1**: 34-36.
- (1908). "ახალი ცენზორი." ისარი **10**: 2.
- (1914). ივ. ახალშენიშვილი. თეატრი და ცხოვრება, vol. 16.
- (1914). "წვრილი ამბები, ივანე პოლუმორდვინმა გადასწყვიტა..." თეატრი და ცხოვრება **36**: 16.
- (1914). "წვრილი ამბები, მსოფლიო თეატრის ისტორიასა სწერს..." თეატრი და ცხოვრება **15**: 16.
- (1937). Criminal Case of Micheil Javakhishvili. The Archive of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia (Archive of the State Security Committee of the Georgian USSR).
- (1937). "მოჩვენებანი." კომუნისტი **293**: 4.
- (1939). ნებადართული პიესები, ბიულეტენი N 1. თბილისი, საქართველოს სსრ სახკომსაბჭოსთან არსებული ხელოვნების საქმეთა სამმართველო, სარეპერტუარო განყოფილება. **1**.
- (1940). ნებადართული პიესები, ბიულეტენი N 2. თბილისი, საქართველოს სსრ სახკომსაბჭოსთან არსებული ხელოვნების საქმეთა სამმართველო, სარეპერტუარო განყოფილება. **2**.
- (1976). *მოჩვენებანი* აფიშა. საქართველოს თეატრის, მუსიკის, კინოსა და ქორეოგრაფიის მუზეუმი.
- (1979). ეკალაძე, ია. ქართული საბჭოთა ენციკლოპედია. თბილისი, საქართველოს სსრ მეცნიერებათა აკადემია. **4**: 61.
- (1987). ავქსენტი ცაგარელი. ქართული საბჭოთა ენციკლოპედია. თბილისი, საქართველოს სსრ მეცნიერებათა აკადემია. **11**: 182.
- (1987). ნინო ნაკაშიძე. ქართული საბჭოთა ენციკლოპედია. თბილისი, საქართველოს სსრ მეცნიერებათა აკადემია. **2**: 77.
- (1996). "Georgia: Information on the Mkhedrioni militant organization." Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, GGA25044.E <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6ad4518.html> [accessed 28 April 2013]
- (2008). "ჰენრიკ იბსენი 180." ქართული თეატრის დღე(27 მარტი): 6.
- (2010). "Georgia: Domestic violence; recourse and protection available to victims; support services and availability of shelters; other violence against women,." Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, GEO103467.E, <http://www.refworld.org/docid/4dd228a92.html> [accessed 29 April 2013] **27 May 2010**.
- (2011). "GEORGIA: Domestic Violence Research Reveals Big Problem in Georgia." The Messenger, http://www.peacewomen.org/news_article.php?id=3243&type=news **March 14, 2011**.
- (2013). "Выпускники Горийского духовного училища," <http://www.petergen.com/bovkalo/duhov/goridu.html>.
- (2013) ბაჩანა ბრეგვაძე. <http://www.nplg.gov.ge/bios/en/00000539/>

8-n (1900). "ქალის ბრძოლა უფლებებისათვის (ქართული თეატრი ქუთაისში)
" კვალი **48**: 766-769.

8-n (1900). "ქალის ბრძოლა უფლებებისათვის (ქართული თეატრი ქუთაისში)
" კვალი **46**: 737-738.

8-n (1900). "ქალის ბრძოლა უფლებებისათვის (ქართული თეატრი ქუთაისში)
" კვალი **44**: 703-705.

Anchabadze, G. (2005). History of Georgia. Tbilisi, Caucasian House.

Andersen, A. S. and J. Nygaard (2009). "Narod Sobie - Theatre as the Nation in Itself. Three case studies of theatre and national emotions.. ." Nordic Theatre Studies **21**: 41-49.

Baldick, C. (2008). Reception theory. The Oxford Dictionary of Literary terms.
<http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t56.e956>, Oxford University Press.

Bash, D., et al. (2005) Bush: Georgia "beacon of liberty".
<http://edition.cnn.com/2005/WORLD/europe/05/10/bush.tuesday>

Batiani, S. (2009) Georgia: Politics to subjugate culture. Georgian Times.
<http://www.georgiatimes.info/en/articles/24328.html>

Beria, L. Литература и искусство Грузии. The Archive of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia, (Party Archive, The Archive of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Georgian SSR).

Brandes, G. (1898). Henrik Ibsen. Kjøbenhavn, Gyldendal.

Bregvadze, B. (2012). telephone interview with Bachana Bregvadze, August 2012. M. Nodia.

Brynhildsvoll, K., et al. (2006). Ibsen reception in Poland and the Baltic nations, Acta Ibseniana ; 4-2006, Unipub skriftserier. Oslo, Centre for Ibsen Studies, University of Oslo.

Brynhildsvoll, K., et al. (2005). Ibsen and Russian culture: Ibsen conference in St. Petersburg 2003 : 1-4 October, Acta Ibseniana ; 3-2005 Unipub skriftserier. [Oslo], Centre for Ibsen Studies, University of Oslo.

Chance, M., et al. (2012) Georgia's ruling party concedes defeat in parliamentary elections.

Chavchavadze, I. (1987). Stories. V. Urushadze. Tbilisi,
http://imbooks.weebly.com/uploads/2/9/9/8/2998202/chavchavadze_stories_by_mw.pdf, Ganatleba.

Dollerup, G. (2000). "Relay" and "Support" translations". Translation in context: selected contributions from the EST Congress, Granada, 1998. A. Chesterman, N. Gallardo San Salvador and Y. Gambier. Amsterdam, J. Benjamins: 17-26.

Elder, M. (2012). Georgia prison guards 'captured on video torturing prisoner'. The Guardian.
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/sep/19/georgia-prison-guards-torture-video>

Fischer-Lichte, E. (2008). "Interweaving theatre cultures in Ibsen productions." Ibsen studies **8:2 (2008), 93-111**.

Fischer-Lichte, E., et al. (2011). Global Ibsen : performing multiple modernities. New York, Routledge.

Fischer-Lichte, E. and S. I. Jain (2008). The transformative power of performance : a new aesthetics. London, Routledge.

Goffman, E. (1967). Interaction Ritual: Essays on Face-to-Face Behavior. Garden City, New York., Anchor Books.

- Goffman, E. (1990). *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. London, Penguin Books.
- Gronau, B. (2011). An enemy of the people as a "Trojan horse" Frank Castorf stages Ibsen in the German Democratic Republic 1988. *Global Ibsen : performing multiple modernities*: 215-224.
- Gulua, E. (2006) Protests Opposing "Death Brigade" Violently Dispersed. www.humanrights.ge/index.php?a=main&pid=6135&lang=eng
- Haue, R. (2001). Russia: attitudes to Western Europe in the 19th century. *Censorship: A World Encyclopedia*. D. Jones. London, Fitzroy Dearborn. **3**: 2090-2091.
- He, C. (2004). *Henrik Ibsen and modern Chinese drama*. Oslo, Unipub.
- Hemmer, B. (1994). Ibsen and Historical Drama. *The Cambridge companion to Ibsen* J. McFarlane. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 12-27.
- Holledge, J. (2008). "Addressing The Global Phenomenon of A Doll's House: An intercultural Intervention." *Ibsen studies* **8**(1): 13-18.
- Holub, R. C. (1984). *Reception theory*. London, Methuen.
- Ibsen, H. The Pretenders. http://www02.us.archive.org/stream/cu31924065009742/cu31924065009742_djvu.txt
- Ibsen, H. (1965). Speech to the Workingmen of Trondheim, 14th of June, 1885. *Letters and speeches*
- Ibsen, H. (2008). En folkefiende. *Henrik Ibsen Skrifter*. Oslo, [Universitetet i Oslo]. **7**.
- Ibsen, H. (2008). En folkefiende (kommentarer). *Henrik Ibsens Skrifter*. Oslo, [Universitetet i Oslo]. **7**: 2 b.
- E. Sprinchorn. Clinton, Mass., Macgibbon & Kee: 248-249.
- Ibsen, H. (2008). En folkefiende. *Henrik Ibsen Skrifter*. Oslo, [Universitetet i Oslo]. **7**.
- Ibsen, H. (2008). En folkefiende (kommentarer). *Henrik Ibsens Skrifter*. Oslo, [Universitetet i Oslo]: 2 b.
- Ibsen, H. (2010). An Enemy of the People. www.gutenberg.org/files/2446/2446-h/2446-h.htm, R. Farquaharson Sharp (trans.).
- Ibsen, H. (2012). Letter to the Editor of the Morgenblad, Vienna, 23rd August, 1873. *Letters of Henrik Ibsen*. J. N. Laurvik and M. Morison. [USA], Nabu Press: 259-262.
- Ibsen, H. and E. Marx-Aveling (2013). An Enemy of the People. <http://www.marxists.org/archive/eleanor-marx/works/enemy/index.htm>.
- Imedi TV News (2006). Irina Enukidze on Sandro Girgvliani's murder. www.youtube.com/watch?v=AORsbrxXMd8.
- Jauss, H. R. (1974). Literary history as a challenge to literary theory. *New directions in literary history*. R. Cohen. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press: 11-41.
- Jauss, H. R. and P. De Man (1982). *Toward an aesthetic of reception*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.
- Khetaguri, L. (2012). interview with Levan Khetaguri. M. Nodia.
- Khutsishvili, I. (2013). Telephone interview with Iane Khutsishvili, February 2013. M. Nodia.

- Kvachadze, N. (2012). "ოჯახში ძალადობის სტატისტიკა და რეალობა საქართველოში " <http://netgazeti.ge/GE/105/News/10334/>.
- Lataia, S. (2011). Protest rally violently dispersed in Georgia. Human Rights House. <http://humanrightshouse.org/Articles/16484.html>.
- Mchedlishvili, L. (2013). Telephone interview with Lili Mchedlishvili, March 2013. მ. ნოდია.
- Montefiore, S. (2007). Young Stalin. London, Weidenfeld & Nicholson.
- Nie, Z., et al. (2006). Construction of freedom in Ibsen's dramas papers of the 3rd International Ibsen Conference in China. [Beijing], Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press.
- Nygaard, J. (1987). ""VENNSKAP MELLOM NASJONENE" De beste forestillinger i Sovjetunionen 1986/1987 ved teatrene i Moskva." Spillerom 4: 29-33.
- Nygaard, J. (1989). ""...i en uendelig myk trengsel"." Spillerom 1: 27-30.
- Online, C. G. D. N. (2011) ECHR Ruling into Girgvliani murder case. <http://www.civil.ge/eng/article.php?id=23376>
- Park (1950). Race and Culture. C Gencoe, Illinois, The free press.
- Plamper, J. (2001). The Soviet Union. Censorship: A World Encyclopedia. D. Jones. London, Fitzroy Dearborn. 3: 2093-2094.
- Rayfield, D. (2000). The literature of Georgia. Richmond, Curzon.
- Rayfield, D. (2005). Georgia. Censorship: A World Encyclopedia. D. Jones. London, Fitzroy Dearborn. 2: 912-915.
- Rayfield, D. (2012). Edge of empires : A history of Georgia. London, Reaktion Books.
- Redgrave, V., et al. (2011) Cause for concern in Bahrain and Georgia. The Guardian, www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/aug/concern-in-bahrain-and-georgia
- Rimple, P. (2006) Georgia: Murder Case Verdict Stirs Controversy. <http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/civilsociety/articles/eav070706.shtml>
- Rustaveli, S. (1912). The man in the panther's skin : a romantic epic. London, Royal Asiatic Society.
- Saldanha, G. and M. Baker (2009). Routledge encyclopedia of translation studies. London, Routledge.
- Service, R. (2001). The Soviet Union. Censorship- A world Encyclopedia. D. Jones. London, Fitzroy Dearborn. 3: 2082-2087.
- Sheshaberidze, A. (2010) Politics in culture. Humanrights.ge, <http://www.humanrights.ge/index.php?a=main&pid=7854&lang=eng>
- Stanislavskij, K. (1956). My life in art. New York, Meridian Books.
- Stanislavskij, K. and J. Beneditti (2008). My life in art. London, Routledge.
- Sturua, R. (2011) Georgia clampdown. The Guardian, www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/oct/19/georgia-clampdown-theatre-tbilisi
- Suny, R. G. (2005). The making of the Georgian nation. Tbilisi, Caucasian House.

Tam, K.-k. (1984). Ibsen in China: reception and influence. PhD dissertation. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Tam, K.-k. (1985). Ibsen in China reception and influence. Urbana.

the European Court of Human Rights (2011). Enukidze and Girgylani v. Georgia.
<http://sim.law.uu.nl/sim/caselaw/Hof.nsf/2422ec00f1ace923c1256681002b47f1/6ca8021af8027a71c125787e00513ac4?OpenDocument>.

Theatre, T. T. I. F. o. (2010). Georgian Showcase.
http://www.google.no/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=6&ved=0CEwQFjAF&url=http%3A%2F%2Fon-the-move.org%2Ffiles%2Fnews%2FTblisi_SHOW%2520CASE%2520PROGRAM.pdf&ei=NKiyUKjhEYqL4gTW6ICADw&usq=AFQjCNGX6TY5QHUS5C-BN8923ifOS0uyyA.

Tompkins, J. P. (1988). Reader-response criticism. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.

unknown (1895). "აზრი რუსეთის ლიტერატურის შესახებ ფრანგის კრიტიკოსისა (დასასრული)." ივერია **2**.

unknown (1903). "ქართული თეატრი." ივერია **66**: 2.

unknown (1907). რეპერტუარი. ისარი. **247**: 4.

unknown (1908). ... აქ ჩამოვდა ქ-ნ იავორსკაის დასი. ქალაქები-ბათუმი. კვალი. **22**: 3.

unknown (1908). "სხვა-და-სხვა ამბები." ჩვენი კვალი **24**.

Urusaze, V. (1958). Anthology of Georgian poetry. Tbilisi, Soviet Georgia.

Zahedi, F. (2006). Henrik Ibsen and Iranian modern drama reception and influence. Oslo, University of Oslo, Faculty of Arts.

Полумордвиновъ, И. Т. (1913). Список пьесъ На грузинском языке : разреш. къ представл. на сцене Кавк. Края. Тифлис, Типогр. "Эсперанто" Елизаветинск. 17.

ა-ძე, ა. (1903). "ჰენრიკ იბსენი." ცნობის ფურცელი **2012**.

ამირეჯიბი, თ. (1956). "იბსენი ქართულ სცენაზე." საბჭოთა ხელოვნება **4**: 12-14.

ბ., შ. (1937). "მოგვენებანი." კომუნისტი **297**: 4.

ბ.გ. (1931). "ყოფ. კორშის თეატრის გასტროლები. "მშენებელი სოლნესი" გ. იბსენის." კომუნისტი **125**: 4.

ბელი, ა. and ლ. მჭედლიშვილი (2001). "იბსენი და დოსტოევსკი." არილი **7**: 14-17.

ბეჟაშვილი, ვ. and მ. შალვაშვილი (1941). "მოგვენებანი სიღნაღის საკოლმეურნეო თეატრში." კოლმეურნე **54**.

ბერდიაევი, ნ. and ლ. მჭედლიშვილი (1998). "ჰენრიკ იბსენი." საუნჯე **5-6**: 280-285.

ბუხრიკიძე, დ. (2010) სხვა რად დარჩა, სიჩუმე მხოლოდ? ცხელი შოკოლადი.
<http://shokoladi.ge/content/sxva-raga-darcha-sichume-mxolod>

გამსახურდია, ვ. (1959). ჰენდრიკ იბსენი. კრიტიკა. Tbilisi, Academy of Science of the Soviet Republic of Georgia. **2**: 83-91.

გელოვანი, ა. (1957). ჰენრიკ იბსენი. თბილისი, საქართველოს სსრ პოლიტიკური და მეცნიერული ცოდნის გამავრცელებელი საზოგადოება.

გვახარია, გ. (2011) 23 თებერვალს თეატრისა და კინოს მოყვარულებმა.
www.radiotavisupleba.ge/content/article/1527184.html

გვახარია, გ. (2012) ხელოვანის არჩევანი. [radiotavisupleba.ge](http://www.tavisupleba.org/content/article/1620735.html)
<http://www.tavisupleba.org/content/article/1620735.html>

გიჟიმერელი, მ. (1973). "მაყურებელი და სულიერი საზრდო." თბილისი.

გოგეიშვილი, ვ. (1935). "რუსთაველის თეატრი გარდაქმნას აგვიანებს." კომუნისტი **206**: 2.

გომილაშვილი, ვ. and ვ. კიკნაძე (1964). "მოჩვენებათა ტყვეობაში, ჰ.იბსენის *მოჩვენებანი* - მოსკოვის მცირე თეატრის სპექტაკლი." კომუნისტი **146**.

გრიგალაშვილი, ნ. (1997). მიხეილ ჯავახიშვილი. სკოლაში შესასწავლი ქართველი მწერლები. თბილისი, წიგნი: 374-407.

გუგუნავა, ლ. (1973). ""ექიმი სტოკმანი" ქართულ სცენაზე." კომუნისტი.

გურაბანიძე, ნ. (2003). "ვინ არის "ღვთის გერი?"." თეატრი და ცხოვრება **3**: 18-22.

გურაბანიძე, ნ. (2012). "არასოდეს არ უნდა ჩაიცვას კაცმა თავისი საუკეთესო შარვალი, როცა თავისუფლების და ჭეშმარიტების დასაცავად მიდის". ეროვნული დრამატურგია რუსთაველის თეატრის სცენაზე. თბილისი კენტავრი: 250-254.

დადიანი, ა. (1976). "კვლავ გაბრწყინდება - რეფერატი." მარჯანიშვილის თეატრის მუზეუმი.

ელერდაშვილი, ა. (1962). "გიორგი ნამორაძე." სამგორი **81**.

ელერდაშვილი, ა. (1962). "ჩაუქრალი გული " 1962 **241**.

ვ.გუნია (1903). "ჰენრიკ იბსენი." ივერია **66**: 3.

ვაჟა-ფშაველა (1905) კოსმოპოლიტიზმი და პატრიოტიზმი.
<http://lib.ge/book.php?author=1436&book=6319>

ზანგი (1904). სალიტერატურო შენიშვნები, *მოჩვენებანი* - დრამა იბსენისა. ცნობის ფურცელი. **2633**: 2-3.

თურნავა, ს. (1959). "ჰენრიკ იბსენი ქართულ ენაზე." საბჭოთა აჭარა **69**: 3.

იაშვილი, მ. (2003). ""პერ გუნტი" იბსენისა და გრიგის შემოქმედებაში." თეატრი და ცხოვრება **6**: 119-124.

იბსენი, ჰ. (1903). "ხალხის მტერი ანუ დოქტორი სტოკმანი." მოამბე **8**: 58-82.

იბსენი, ჰ. (1903). "ხალხის მტერი ანუ დოქტორი სტოკმანი." მოამბე **5**: 35-62.

იბსენი, ჰ. and ა. გელოვანი (1974). მოჩვენებანი. დრამები. თბილისი, საბჭოთა საქართველო: 669-745.

იბსენი, ჰ. and ა. გელოვანი (1974). ხალხის მტერი. დრამები. თბილისი, საბჭოთა საქართველო: 745-855.

იბსენი, ჰ., et al. (1988). კატალინა, ხუროთმოძღვარი სოლნესი. თბილისი, საბჭოთა საქართველო.

ინტერნეტკონფერენცია (2011) ალკოჰოლიზმი ambebi.ge

კ.ა. (1901). "საფრანგეთის მწერლის აზრი იბსენის შესახებ." ცნობის ფურცელი 1612: 1-3.

კ.ა. (1901). "საფრანგეთის მწერლის აზრი იბსენის შესახებ." ცნობის ფურცელი VI(1614): 1-3.

კალამი (1903). "საზოგადოებრივი პიესები იბსენისა." ცნობის ფურცელი 2101: 1-2.

კვირკველია, ნ. (2009) გოგი ქავთარაძე დგამს "ხალხის მტერს". რეზონანსი.
http://www.resonancedaily.com/index.php?id_rub=6&id_artc=42

კიკნაველიძე, თ. (2010). ჟამი ქვების სროლისა კინომსახიობთა თეატრში. 24 საათი.
<http://24saati.ge/index.php/category/culture/2010-03-23/4607>.

კიკნაძე, ვ. (1978). ილია ჭავჭავაძე და თეატრი. თბილისი, საქართველოს კვ ცვ-ს გამომცემლობის სტამბა.

კიკნაძე, ვ. (2003). ქართული დრამატული თეატრის ისტორია. თბილისი, საარი.

კიკნაძე, ვ. (2003). ქართული დრამატული თეატრის ისტორია. თბილისი, საარი.

კიკნაძე, ვ. (2009). დაკარგული თეატრი. თბილისი, კენტავრი.

ლ.მარკოზოვი (1954). "იბსენის "პერ გიუნტი" თბილისის სცენაზე." კომუნისტი 6: 3.

ლაშქარაძე, დ. (1974). შესავალი, კომენტარები. ჰენრიკ იბსენი: დრამები. თბილისი, საბჭოთა საქართველო.

ლომძე, ე. (2002). "წელს როგორი კუდი გამოუჩნდება ფარშავანგს?" კვირის პალიტრა(<http://www.open.ge/index.php?m=54&y=2002&art=7443>).

ლუკაშვილი, ე. (1958). "შეხვედრები თეატრის დიდ კორიფეებთან." საბჭოთა ხელოვნება 12.

მ-ლი (1910). "სათეატრო მიმოხილვა- ჭიათურა." თეატრი და ცხოვრება 37: 15.

მადულარია, გ. (1976). "მოჩვენებანი მარჯანიშვილის თეატრში." საბჭოთა ხელოვნება 9: 78-86.

მაჭავარიანი, ნ. (2008). "თავისუფლება და ისტორიული აუცილებლობის პრობლემა ჰენრიკ იბსენის შემოქმედებაში." შრომები: ახალციხის ინსტიტუტი 1: 110-117.

მეგრელიძე, გ. (2012). ""თოჯინების სახლი" თავისუფალ თეატრში " ქართული თეატრის დღე 14 იანვარი: 102-103.

მერაბიშვილი, ი. (2005). პოეტური თარგმანის ლინგვისტიკა. თბილისი, საქართველოს ბაირონის საზოგადოება, შპს "პოლიგრაფი"

მთვლიტი (1933). სარეპერტუარო მაჩვენებელი. ტფილისი, საქ. მთავლიტის გამომცემლობა.

მუმლაძე, დ. (1973). "საიდან მოდის სიცივე?" ახალგაზრდა კომუნისტი.

ნათაძე, შ. (1905). "ჰენრიკ იბსენის უკიდურესი ინდივიდუალიზმის განვითარება." ფურცელი 112: 3.

ნიკოლეიშვილი, ა. (1999). მიხეილ ჯავახიშვილი. ქართული ლიტერატურა, IX კლასი. ქუთაისი, ქუთაისის სახელმწიფო უნივერსიტეტი: 56-88.

რადიანი, მ. (1980). "ჰენრიკ იბსენი და "პერ-გუნტი". საბჭოთა ხელოვნება 3: 75-77.

რაქდენიძე, ა. (1903). "ხალხის მტერი, ანუ ექიმი შტოკმანი." კვალი 32.

საკდესი (1956). ჰენრიკ იბსენი (გარდაცვალების 50 წლისთავის გამო). გამარჯვება. 61: 3.

სიტყვა (1903). პატარა ამბები. ცნობის ფურცელი. 2111: 4.

სურგულაძე, ა. ს., პ. (1991). საქართველოს ისტორია. თბილისი, დავით აღმაშენებლის საზოგადოება.

ტრაპაიძე, ა. (1971). "მეგობრებმა გაგვახარეს: ჟ.რობესის "მარი ოქტომბერი" და ჰ.იბსენის *მოჩვენებანი* სოხუმის ს.ჭანბას სახელობის სახელმწიფო დრამთეარის სცენაზე." კომუნისტი 6.

ფანჭულიძე, დ. (1956). ჰენრიკ იბსენი. კომუნისტი. 119: 3.

ფირცხალავა, ს. (2013) სალიტერატურო მუშაობა თბილისში. აი ია. <http://www.ai-ia.info/online-arqivi/63-samson-pircxalava-saliteraturo-mushaoba-tbilisshi.htm>

ფირცხალავა, ს. (2013) ცენზურა და პრესა. აი ია. <http://www.ai-ia.info/online-arqivi/66-samson-pircxalava-cenzura-da-presა.htm>

ფიფიაშვილი, ვ. (1977). "მზე მიეცით ადამიანს!" ლენინის დროშა. -მახარაძე 17.

ქართული თეატრის ენციკლოპედია (2012). ხალხის მტერი. <http://www.geotheatre.ge/ge/spektakl.php?ID=47&N=10>.

ქირია, ნ. (2010). ჰენრიკ იბსენი ქართულ სცენაზე. საჯარო ლექცია, საქართველოს შოთა რუსთაველის თეატრისა და კინოს სახელმწიფო უნივერსიტეტი.

ქობალიანი, გ. (2000). "ეროვნული პრობლემატიკა იაკობ ცინცაძის პუბლიცისტიკაში" ბედი 6-7: 65-69.

ქუჩუკი (1904). "უკანასკნელ ქართულ წარმოდგენის გამო." ივერია 242: 3.

შალუტაშვილი, ნ. (1977). "ცივი სახლის ლანდები." თეატრალური მოამბე 1: 19-22.

შვარცი (1910). "ჰენრიკ იბსენი II
" სხივი 10: 8-9.

შვარცი (1910). "ჰენრიკ იბსენი III
" სხივი 11: 14-15.

შვარცი (1910). "ჰენრიკ იბსენი IV
" სხივი 12: 9-10.

ჩხიკვაძე, ა. (1956). ჰენრიკ იბსენი (გარდაცვალების 50 წლისთავის გამო). საბჭოთა აფხაზეთი. 101: 3.

მიგუა, ვ. (2010). როგორ იქმნება მტრის ხატი. რეზონანსი.
http://resonancedaily.com/index.php/index.php?id_rub=6&id_artc=1541.

წერეთელი, ა. (1990). ჩემი თავგადასავალი. თბილისი, საქართველო.

წერეთელი, ნ. (2010). მთავლიტის ისტორიიდან. სოციალური რეალიზმის თეორიული ისტორია (ქართული ლიტერატურის მაგალითზე). კ. ლორია. თბილისი, ნეკერი. **1**: 192-212.

ჭავჭავაძე, ა. (1990). "სახელმწიფოდან ერისკენ" საბჭოთა ხელოვნება **1**: 2-9.

ხეთაგური, ლ. (2009). შესავალი. რჩეული ნაშრომები მსოფლიო თეატრის ისტორიაში ლ. ხეთაგური. თბილისი, კენტავრი. **1**: 5.

ხუროძე, ვ. (1928). "ჰენრიხ იბსენი." მნათობი **3**: 191-199.

ხურციძე, დ. (1968). "მოჩვენებანი." ქუთაისი **3**.

ხუსკივაძე, თ. (1905). "წლევანდელი სათეატრო სეზონი ქუთაისში." ივერია **21**.

ჯავახიშვილი, მ. (2007). ჰენრიკ იბსენი. წერილები. ნ. ჭყოიძე. თბილისი, საქართველოს მაცნე. **6**: 234-236.

ჯავახიშვილი, მ. (2007). ჰენრიკ იბსენი. წერილები. ნ. ჭყოიძე. თბილისი, საქართველოს მაცნე. **6**: 252-260.

ჯანელიძე, დ. (1963). გალერიან გუნია. თბილისი, ლიტერატურა და ხელოვნება.

ჯინორია, ო. (1960). "ჰენრიკ იბსენი კვლავაც იბრძვის." საბჭოთა ხელოვნება **12**: 57-59.

ჯორბენაძე, ზ. (1956). დიდი ნორვეგიელი დრამატურგი. კოლექტიური შრომა. **42**: 2.